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STUDIES

in

THE HISTORICAL & CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY and

ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT

(Places and Peoples in Inscriptions of Gujarat: 300 B.C.-1300 A.D.)

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THAKKAR VASSONJI MADHAVJI LECTURES

1944

University of Bombay

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To

F. J. RICHARDS, M. A., I. C. S. (Retd.), My Teacher in the University College, London.

INTRODUCTION

These lectures were delivered under the auspices of the University of Bombay, by invitation, under the Thakkar Vassonji Foundation, in November 1944 and were to be published by the University. Owing to the war and the rising cost of paper and printing, the University could not do so all these years. At the writer's request the University authorities have now permitted the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, to publish the lectures on certain conditions. He is grateful to the University for granting permission and to the Director of the Institute for including the lectures among its publications.

Though the material of these lectures was collected several years ago, it was worked out at the Institute. Here the writer had the benefit of Dr. S. M. Katre's advice at every stage of his work, particularly in the study of the linguistic aspect of modern and ancient placenames. The writer is keenly aware of his obligations to him for his help and takes this opportunity to show him his gratitude. He is also thankful to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the Calcutta University for going through the lectures after they were delivered and making several suggestions. All these have been acknowledged in the footnotes. Likewise he has to thank Professors Khan Bahadur A. K. Shaikh and C. H. Shaikh for elucidating the etymology of certain Arabic and Persian words.

The writer is also highly indebted to the Political Secretary, Baroda State, for lending the Gujarati Census Reports of the State, and to Professor G. H. Bhatt for obtaining for him an old map of Gujarat. But for the help from these sources, the reconstruction of the old territorial units in Caulukyan Gujarat would have been almost impossible. Had similar data been available from other States in Gujarat and Kathiawar it would have been possible to reconstruct, to some extent, the territorial units prevalent under the earlier dynasties.

The second lecture was illustrated with a specially prepared map, showing the reconstrucion of the Sārasvata Maṇḍala of the Caulukya

INTRODUCTION

period and its relation to the present-day Mehsana Prant. The map showing the reconstruction of the Caulukya Empire as well as the one dealing with the distribution of ancient place-names suffixes and their modern equivalents was prepared later. For the present the latter explains only the place-names comprised within the territory of H. H. the GAEKWAD of Baroda. It does not include those in the British Districts and other States. For, no suitable Gujarati maps and directories of these areas have yet been available. Though it is hoped to fill up this deficiency in the near future, as a sample survey the map adequately explains the place-name suffix peculiarities and physiographic features of different parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. The final copies of these maps were prepared from the writer's originals by Messrs. S. M. Ketkar and Zainuddin Shaikh respectively. The writer very much appreciates their interest in such work and is thankful to them for their assistance. He is also thankful to Pilu F. VAKHARIA for her help in preparing the footnotes for the press.

The names of Brāhmaṇas and places from Gurjjara, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Maitraka and other pre-Caulukya records had been listed and arranged in the form of appendices. For fear of increasing the bulk of the book, and because not many of these place-names have been identified, they have not been published. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by him from the University towards the cost of this book.

Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. 20th May, 1948 H. D. S.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona ABORIAll India Oriental Congress Reports A IOCR Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University AORBulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona BDCRIBPSIBhavanagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris BSLCIICorpus Inscriptionus Indicarum ECEpigraphia Caranatica Epigraphia Indica EIGaekwad Oriental Series GOS Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat by G. V. Acharya, Bombay HIG IAIndian Antiquary Indian Historical Quarterly IHQJournal Asiatique $\mathcal{J}A$ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 7ASB JBBRAS Journal of the Bombay Branch of R.A.S. $\mathcal{J}BU$ Journal of the Bombay University 7DL Journal Department of Letters, Calcutta University 7GRS Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London **FRAS JUPHS** Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society 7VS Iournal of Vedic Studies NIANew Indian Antiquary POPoona Orientalist RLARBP Revised List Antiquarian Remains Bombay Presidency



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Lecture I

NATURE OF THE SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

Previous Series of Lectures

THE Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectureship is a comparatively young lectureship, particularly when we think of the Wilson Philological Lectureship founded in this University in 1877. Though thus 50 years younger than the Wilson, The Thakkar Lectureship, since its inception in 1929 due to the donation of Rs. 35,000 from the estate of the late Mr. Vassonji Madhavji for the purpose of encouraging studies in Gujarati literature and history, has attracted a number of scholars. The late Prof. N. B. DIVATIA gave these lectures for the first time in 1930 on "Gujarati Literature". Mr. DIVATIA was followed by Dewan Bahadur K. H. DHRUVA who lectured on "The Evolution of Verse in Guiarati Literature". In 1931-32 Khan Bahadur Prof. M. S. Commissariat spoke on certain aspects of Late Mughal Rule in Gujarat. Muni JINA-VIJAYAJI confined himself next year to the geographical, political and cultural aspects of Gujarat. Since 1933,1 excepting Mr. Munshi's lectures on "The Early Aryans in Gujarat", the lectures in this series have been delivered on some aspects of Gujarati literature. As considerable original work was done in this literature, it naturally dominated the field.

When the University invited a worker like me to deliver a course of five lectures in this series, I thought that the University wanted that there

¹ Other lectures in the series were: Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, "The Present State of Gujarati Literature (1933-34); Prof. B. K. THAKCRE, "Narmad, Kalapi and Govardhanram" (1934-35); Prof. R. V. PATHAK, "Tendencies in Modern Gujarati Literature" (1935-36); Mr. A. F. KHABARDAR, "The Art of Composition in Gujarati Poetry" (1937-38); Pandit Bechardas Doshi, "The Development of Gujarati Language" (1938-39); Mr. Ramanlal V. Desai, "Gujarati Literature" (1939-40); Mr. J. E. Sanjana, "Gujarati Literature" (1940-41); Mr. Jhaverchand K. Meghani, "Gujarati Folk Literature" (1941-42).

should be some change in the subject, for otherwise there were a number of other distinguished Gujarati scholars, much older than myself, who could have stepped into my place today.

Why not archaeological subject?

If the University expected me to speak on some aspects of archaeology of Gujarat, I think I would disappoint them. For though I have been a student of Gujarat's prehistoric and historic archaeology, I have not selected for this series any aspect of the archaeology of Gujarat. This is due to a number of reasons. In the first place, what I have to say on Gujarat's historic archaeology is already published; those interested in it can well refer to my book. My recent work on pre-historic archaeology of Gujarat, accomplished with the assistance of two colleagues Dr. B. K. Chatterjee and Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami and with the financial support of the University of Bombay is about to be published by the Baroda Government. It was thus with a desire not to repeat what has been published or is about to be published that I do not wish to speak today on any aspect of the archaeology of Gujarat.

Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat

Some hitherto untrodden field in Gujarat history or culture had to be chosen. And I thought of "the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat" or "Peoples and Places in Gujarat Inscriptions".

The study of place-names as well as those of peoples mentioned in inscriptions has not been attempted so far in the manner in which I have done. Therefore before I refer to what has been done in these subjects in Gujarat or in India, I would explain to you what I mean by the "Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat".

What is Geography?

Geography, as is now well known, does not mean a knowledge merely of the physical forms of the earth's surface. In its widest and fullest significance it is a science of the earth's surface, form, physical features,

¹ See Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat, Shri Pratapa Simha Rajyabhisheka Granthamala, Memoir No. IV, 1946.

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natural and political divisions, climate, productions, population etc. Thus depending on the emphasis laid on its various aspects, we have physical geography, political geography, economic geography, mathematical geography and so on and so forth.

Cultural Geography of Gujarat

By "Cultural Geography of Gujarat" I have in view a knowledge of the political and administrative divisions of Gujarat, a knowledge of the significance of the place-names, modern and ancient, a knowledge of the distribution of population as gathered from the number and situation of villages, a knowledge of the language in which the placenames are given in inscriptions.

What I aim at and expect from a study of inscriptional place-names can be best explained by a few illustrations.

Necessity for Study of Inscriptional Place-names

Let me take first the question of political and administrative or territorial units now discussed in India. We all know that the modern provinces are not grouped or formed on any cultural basis—linguistic, racial or otherwise. They all grew up as administrative necessity dictated. The major divisions of a province are called districts (jillās) zila, and the minor sub-divisions are called tālukās or mahāls. The former comes into the English language from the original Latin word districtus, whereas the words tālukā and mahāla have been inherited from the Muslim rulers of India. These foreign influences have been so great, that none of us perhaps could give a pre-Muslim name for a unit corresponding roughly to a tālukā. It is, therefore, worth investigating what the ancient territorial divisions were, whether they were made on linguistic or fiscal and administrative basis, and what their limits were. How far the natural boundaries, such as rivers and mountains, were taken into consideration in defining a unit like a tālukā, a district or a province.

These investigations have been attempted by identifying most of the place-names occurring in the inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis of Gujarat. Likewise an interpretation of the place-names, both ancient as well as their modern equivalents, has also been attempted. The necessity and urgency of such a study require no emphasis.

Perhaps a few persons of the modern generation know how Bombay was originally so called and why and what were the real names of places which are called Benares, Muttra, Baroda etc. If by some illluck, all our Indian indigenous records are lost, and records giving only the modern anglicised versions of place-names remain, we shall have after a few centuries, some funny explanations of the name of Bombay. Even now when I hear an Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian calling Bhāyakhālā as "Byculla", Kalyāṇa as "Kelyan" my feelings revolt though I know that we are all guilty in some way or other when we have discarded Mumbaī and adopted "Bombay". But it is this one word Mumbai which, if it survives, will tell the future generations that the present Bombay was originally a fishing village inhabited by the Kolis, who called a part of the island Mumbaī after their family or village goddess Mumbādevī (Mumbaī)!1 Thus Baroda comes from Vadodarā, which is derived from Vatapadra—a place having a Vata (Banian) tree. Now what does this signify? A belief in or worship of trees, supposed to be a non-Arvan custom, or is it something else? or nothing, merely a name?

For a proper understanding of these things, a study of the prefixes and the suffixes as well as the study of the body proper of the place-name is required. When such studies are made and the places plotted on a map, certain regional or geographic groups will stand out. These when correlated with our knowledge of the religions, customs and ethnic groups existing in these areas will lead perhaps to the understanding of either, or to some other knowledge.

It is not unlikely that such studies will bring to light the ethnographic basis of the place-names, and thus lead to the ethnographic or ethnic distribution of the people and their original religious beliefs.

Similarly a study of the place-names from linguistic point of view may inform us of the actual language spoken and written by the people and the political and cultural forces that existed during the period, or of various elements that go to form the present language. Further a

¹ Dr. B. A. Saletore has attempted a novel explanation of the word. But it is based on an incorrect and careless reading of an English translation of the *Mirat-I-Ahmadi* and subsequent wrong deductions. See *JUB*, January 1944, 1-9 and my refutation of it. *Ibid*. January 1947.

comparison of the ancient place-names with their modern equivalents will point out not only the linguistic reasons that have been responsible for their modern equivalents but such a linguistic study of place-names might also reveal the form of ancient Gujarati and its development. Let me take again the example of 'Bombay'. We Indians call it Mumbaī, Bambaī, and its anglicised form is Bombay. The word Bombay will point to a future student of historical linguistics not only its political import, but the linguistic and the racial causes or factors that contributed to the coining of the word "Bombay". In a similar way I have tried to interpret the old names by identifying and comparing them with their modern equivalents.

Cultural Ethnography

Let me now explain what I mean by the word "Cultural Ethnography." Ethnography and Ethnology in their strictest sense pertain to a scientific description of races of men, their characteristics and their relation to one another. It must at once be conceded that I do not propose to attempt such a scientific description of the ancient peoples of Gujarat or their physical characteristics. What I aim at is an insight into the formation and characteristics of the various varnas and castes, their mutual relationship, their religious beliefs and customs by an examination of the names of the people occurring in inscriptions, in conjunction with their gotras, profession, position in society and the religion they profess; their places of residence and the places to which they migrated. Such an enquiry may justly be described "Studies in Cultural Ethnography", because it is an attempt to systematize the scattered information about certain people and their cultural characteristics as opposed to their physical characteristics, by the utilization of cultural descriptions and not by a study of material culture.

Significance of Personal Names

My point of view can be best explained by taking a few examples from our modern life. As I have said elsewhere, while studying the personal names of the ancient Deccan, that personal names have a cultural significance, though usually these names being proper names are regarded non-connotative or having the least connotation. Very often they are significant names. The names may signify the religion

or religious tendencies of the persons bearing the names or of the age; they may also signify the prevailing political and social conditions customs and fashions—of the time. To take a few concrete instances from our own history. The name 'Jawahar' may have been common among the Hindus of U. P., long before the Civil Disobedience Movement, but it is only since the rise of this movement that it has become common in Gujarat. Likewise names of flowers and seasons borne by many boys and girls among the present Gujarati generation can be traced to the influence of Bengali contact through revival of interest in Sanskrit literature, national movements and lastly the cinema. Previous to this, some 30 years ago, names in the Gujarati Bania community were given after the names of virtues: Dhīraj, Sānti, or auspicious occasion (Mangal), or gems: Mānek (ruby), Motī, Hirā etc. A future historian writing about our own times is sure to be struck by the great cultural divergence in the names of the boys and girls of the present generation and those of their fathers and mothers. And even if most of the material of our period perishes and only the names remain he will be able to arrive at some conclusion regarding the cultural movements of our age.

The names of the boys and girls and surnames of the present generation will not help in understanding the caste, varna or religion to which he or she belongs. For these have well-nigh disappeared and are fast disappearing and few care to preserve such traces. The names and surnames will at the most reveal to a future student the great political forces passing through the country. But what will he make out of such names as Aśoka Harṣa? Perhaps he might regard such a person super-Buddhist, a great Kṣatriya, in absence of any other evidence.

Fortunately we are not likely to commit such an error, because the people (I propose to study) have taken care to leave data which can control our deductions. Of course this will be to the extent to which race mixture (varṇasaṁkara) had not taken place, depending upon the political, social and cultural influences of the respective periods under review. For as MM. P. V. KANE¹ has shown, even before the time of Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra (c. 100 B. C.—100 A. D.), numberless

¹ History of Dharmaśāstra, II. 1. 58.

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castes and sub-castes had been formed. And the idea of varṇa which was originally based on race, character, culture and profession, was gradually replaced by the system of jāti (caste). This laid emphasis on birth and heredity. The word jāti in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature. But it can be traced back through later works to the Nirukta where the term 'Kṛṣṇajātiya' occurs.¹

It is the aim of these studies to trace this development of caste through epigraphic evidence. Its value, I find, was anticipated by Dr. Ghurye when he said,² "The idealistic point of view on caste system is provided by writers like *Hemādri*, while the inscriptions and travellers' accounts reveal some of the realities of the times."

Results expected from such a Study

In this examination of the names of kings and peoples from the earliest times (about 300 B. C. to 1300 A. D.) we can have some idea of

- (1) the religious forces prevailing at certain periods,
- (2) the names and their relation to laws on naming and caste, religion of the people and profession,
- (3) the original habitat of certain present-day castes and their probable ethnic origin, and
- (4) the probable origin of certain surnames.

Place-Name Study Outside India

Such a study of place-names and names of people has not been attempted before in India. In Western countries, however, specially in Scandinavia and England as also in America, place-name study has received considerable attention. Almost every county of England has a book devoted to the study of its names. These have made manifest not only the various political and cultural factors that lie behind a certain place-name, but have also pointed to the hidden archaeological importance of the place. I expect similar results to follow from the study of place-names in India.

¹ History of Dharmaśāstra, p. 55; ROTH, Jāska's Nirukta, 173.

² Caste and Race in India. 39.

In India

In India, though large scale studies of place-names have only recently been undertaken, some of the old scholars, FLEET and BUEHLER in particular, had pointed out the importance of preparing a historical geography from the identification of place-names mentioned in inscriptions. These suggestions have remained unheeded partly for want of initiative on our part, and partly for want of suitable facilities. Linguistic interpretation of place-names and their cultural significance was dealt at some length by Dr. S. K. Chatterji¹. His pupil, Krishnapada Goswami² has followed up this study in great detail, but his study does not envisage the reconstruction of political geography and other aspects. Mr. Setti PILLAI³ seems to deal with modern South Indian place-names only; whereas Messers BHAYANI⁴ and Sandesara⁵ have confined themselves to a linguistic study of certain names in Gujarat. SANDESARA has tried to explain the suffix or ending in certain groups of place-names which were merely touched by Prof. DIVATIA in his Wilson Philological Lectures. This attempt, though on a very small scale, to understand the modern place-names in Gujarat is welcome. It shows that such studies when not based upon the identification of ancient place-names do not yield the desired result. When a modern name is examined merely from a linguistic point of view, its real historical evolution cannot be satisfactorily traced, for we have no known ancient data to compare with. It is, therefore, of prime importance that a given name must be identified with certainty, not merely on the ground of similarity of names, but with respect to its position as mentioned in an ancient record.

After this identification is obtained, the names should be studied by a historian and a student of linguistics. Then only full justice can be done to the subject.

¹ Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, I. 64-67, 68, 74, and 179-88.

² Journal Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, 1943, 1-70.

Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, IV. (1939-40), 24-36; V (1940-41). 1-34.

¹ Journal Gujarat Research Society, IV (1942), 119-29.

⁵ Ibid. V. (1943). 148-56; 157-58.

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Before I discuss my data and conclusions it is necessary to give an idea of the material—the sources—on which these are based in their proper geographic context.

Gujarat: Its Present Boundaries and Ancient Divisions

What we know as Gujarat today is the country extending roughly from Mount Abu in the north to Daman in the south, from Dwarka on the Arabian Sea in the west to Godhra or Dohad in the east, that is, the country bounded on the north by the desert of Marwar, on the north-west by the Great Runn of Cutch, on the west (if Kathiawar is included) by the Arabian Sea, on the south by the Deccan plateau which almost abuts on the coastal plain between Daman and Dahanu, on the east by the gorges of the Narbada and the Tapti, with Satpura in between, on the north-east by the Mewar and Malwa plateaux.

In the manner in which it is ruled today or was ruled after the 11th century, it was never ruled by one king, as far as we know from the earliest times to the 10th century, nor was the whole land or country as above described was called Gujarat. The country south of the $Mah\bar{n}$ or at times south of the Narbada up to the Purna or so far as Daman was called $L\bar{a}ta$, while, it appears, that $\bar{A}nartta$ was the name of the country extending from Kaira to Palanpur or Vadnagar in the north, and including Dwarka in the west. The rest of the country, viz., the southern portion of the present Kathiawar peninsula was called Surastra, as it is even now known by its Prakrit name as Sorath.

Thus Lāṭa corresponded roughly with Southern Gujarat; ¹ Ānartta with the Northern but included most probably parts of Northern Kathiawar, while Surāstra corresponded with Southern Kathiawar.

If we leave out the pre-historic and the Puranic periods, about which we do not know much, the first historical fact we have is that 2300 years from now, in about 300 years before Christ, practically the whole of modern Gujarat formed a part of the Mauryan Empire, and

¹ According to Dr. Chatterji, " $L\bar{a}ta$ also would appear to have included Southern Sindh, which is still called $L\bar{a}d$ (लाइ) as opposed to $Vicol\bar{\iota}$ (विचोली) or Central Sindh, Siraiki (विरेकी) or Northern Sindh. Compare Larike $< L\bar{a}dik\bar{a}, < L\bar{a}tik\bar{a},$ the Greek transformation of the name for the country of Sourthern Kathiawar, with its capital $Barakhe < Dv\bar{a}rak\bar{a}$ ". (Compare Periplus of the Erythrean Sea).

 $Sur\bar{a}$ stra was governed by Pusyagupta, under Candragupta and by a Yavana $Tus\bar{a}$ spa under Asoka respectively. Who the other governors $(r\bar{a}$ striya) of $L\bar{a}$ ta and \bar{A} nartta were we do not know.

Of this period we have only the edicts of Aśoka carved on a boulder on the way to Mount Girnar. These edicts however do not contain any names of places nor of people within Gujarat. The names of the governors Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspa are given in a record of the subsequent period, viz., in the inscription of Rudradāman which is also carved on the boulder mentioned above. I should mention here that during the interval between the Maurya and Kṣatrapa rule in Gujarat, the period from 180 B.C. to B.C. 100, the Indo-Greeks probably ruled over parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. But of these rulers we have no records, except coins which are found at many places in Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The Indo-Greeks were driven out by the Sakas, a Central Asian people who entered India from the north and north-west and soon spread over almost the whole of northern India. Under Rudradāman, a Kṣatrapa, probably one of their branches obtained suzerainty over Western India, the whole coastal strip, from Konkan in the south to Cutch in the north, and inland spreading as far as and including Malwa.

Gujarat and Kathiawar remained under the *Kṣatrapas* for about265 years—from A. D. 125 to A. D. 390—at the end of which period these parts were conquered by Candragupta II. Of these—the *Sakas*—we have 12 stone inscriptions, all found from Cutch and Kathiawar. Unfortunately these inscriptions contain very few names of people and places. Nevertheless, the few names that occur enable us to trace the history of certain place-names ending in 'padra' such as Raso-padra.

As I said just now the Guptas replaced the Kṣatrapas in about 390 A. D., and ruled there for about 100 years. But only one record, an inscription carved on the boulder, which bears Aśoka's and Rudradāman's records at Girnar, is now known to exist which definitely testifies to the prevalence of Gupta rule in Gujarat and Kathiawar. This record belongs to the reign of Skandagupta who was the fourth of the Gupta kings, and ruled probably between 450 A. D. to 467 A. D. It tells us that Skandagupta had appointed one Cakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta to govern Surāṣṭra.

NATURE OF THE SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

At about this time southern part of Lāṭa, the country south of the Tapti, was under a small but independent dynasty, called in their inscriptions as the Traikūṭakas. Only three copper plates of this dynasty have so far come down to us. From these we know that the members of this dynasty, Darhasena and his son Vyāghrasena ruled the country roughly between Surat and Bombay from about 450 to 495 A. D.

When the Gupta empire broke up towards the close of the 5th century, several petty kings and generals, who were probably former vassals of the Guptas, tried to assert their independence, and carve out a kingdom for themselves from the ruins of the tottering empire, which once stretched from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, while the influence of its greatest rulers was felt beyond all the frontiers of India.

From its ruins arose the principality of the Gurjjaras around Broach, with Nāndipurī as their capital, of the Maitrakas at Valabhī, near Bhavnagar; of the Gārulakas around Dwarka, and perhaps of the Saindhavas at Ghumli near Porbandar; of the Kataccuris north and south of the Tapti, who were soon replaced by the Cālukyas of Badami. Thus we have at least 5 to 6 small powers or generals who shared between them parts of Kathiawar and Lāta. Northern Gujarat, the portion extending from Kaira to Palanpur in the north was probably under the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rajaputana. Small as these powers were, their records are the only sources which supply us with some details about the political and cultural history—administrative units and officers, names of places and Brāhmanas with their gotras and Vedic śākhas for over 200 years, from about 500 A. D. to 770 A. D.; while there is only one copper plate of Samgrāmasimha, a Senapati who ruled the country around Broach, before the Kataccuris, and the Gurjjaras, in A. D. 540. Just after the Gurjjaras, a Cāhamāna dynasty ruled in the same region in V. S. 813=A. D. 757. Thus we see that the present Broach district had no less than four different dynasties, roughly between A. D. 550-A. D. 750.

Of the Gurjjara dynasty at Broach we have so far only 17 copper plates, of which three are forgeries. These tell us that the dynasty ruled for about over 100 years from about 600 A. D. to 700 A. D.

The Maitrakas have left the largest number of records. No less than 100 copper plates are so far found, while there is one inscription on a potsherd.

The *Kaṭaccuri* dynasty in *Lāṭa* is represented by 5 copper plates. They ruled around Baroda or at Ujjayini from c. 590 to 610, when they seem to have been ousted by the Gurjjaras and the *Cālukyas*.

Southern $L\bar{a}ta$, the country south of the Tapti came under a branch of the $C\bar{a}lukyas$ of Badami, when their greatest king $Pulake\dot{s}in~II$ drove out the Kataccuris in about 610 A. D. From that time upto 750 this branch ruled here with the capital at $Navas\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ or modern Navasari. Thus Northern $L\bar{a}ta$ had four and the Southern $L\bar{a}ta$ had three dynasties between 550-750 A. D.

Period of Great Changes

At about this period a tremendous change came over both Gujarat and Kathiawar. It was due to the changes in the political movements in the north and south.

I will first deal with the movements in the south. The $C\bar{a}lukyas$ who were masters of Southern Gujarat, Konkan, Karnataka and parts of Southern India, were ousted from that position by the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}tas$. This was a new Deccan-Karnataka dynasty. The world-famous Ellora caves were carved during their regime and under their direction. A member of this dynasty, Dantidurga defeated the $C\bar{a}$ -lukyas and overran Gujarat as far as Kaira in the north. Soon after, under his successors, a branch of the dynasty was established at (Khetaka) Kaira. This and the later, the main or the Imperial $R\bar{a}s$ -trak $\bar{u}ta$ dynasty ruled practically the whole of the coastal strip of Gujarat for 200 years, from 770 to 970 A. D. Of the branch and the main line together we have so far recovered 19 copper plate inscriptions.

But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not hold the country beyond Ahmedabad, though at times their raids reached as far as the Gangetic Doab, and seized Kanoj (Kānyakubja). In these attempts they were frustrated by the Gurjara-Pratihāras, a dynasty which sprang up in Rajputana in the 7th century. Within a few decades it spread its sway over Malwa, N. Gujarat, Kathiawar, and the whole of Northern India, up to the Himalayan foothills, and parts of Bengal and Bihar. It is this power, the Gurjaras, which prevented the Arabs from

penetrating further eastwards after they had raided and destroyed $Valabh\bar{i}$ and conquered Sindh in the 8th century.

We have no record of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* themselves found from Gujarat, but from their other records we know that Northern Gujarat and Kathiawar formed a part of their vast empire. This fact is proved by the existence of the copper-plates of their feudatories in Kathiawar. These are of the year 900 A. D.

This dynasty represented by Balavarman and Avanivarman was not the only feudatory power of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* in Kathiawar. Another such vassal dynasty, called *Cāpa* (*Cāvaḍas* of the present day) ruled near Wadhwan. We have only one copper-plate of this dynasty dated A. D. 917, while the Western coast of Kathiawar, around Porbundar was under a third vassal power, the Saindhavas. Only very recently six copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered. Their capital was at *Bhumulikā* or modern Ghumli.

This brings my survey of the sources almost to the end of the 10th century. As at the end of the 5th century and the 8th century, the Indian political scene again changed. The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was destroyed in the north, as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa in the south and several new powers sprang up. In Karnataka the Cālukyas came back, whereas in Northern Gujarat, Mūlarāja, a general probably of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, but of the Cālukya family uprooted the small Cāpa family which was ruling at Anhilwad, and started an independent career. Owing to his former contacts with Rajputana, it was easier for him to conquer parts of this region from his base at Patan (Anahila-pāṭaka) in the Sarasvati valley in Northern Gujarat. His descendants gradually extended the sway of the dynasty over Lāṭa, then over Kathiawar and Cutch and finally over Malwa and further northwards in Rajputana.

Under this dynasty, known popularly as Solanki, our present Gujarat came to be called by the name *Gurjjara-manḍala* because for the first time the rulers identified themselves with the land over which they ruled. Though outsiders or foreigners they might be, they lived here and tried their best to encourage art, literature, trade and commerce. With the royal patronage and private enterprise the country flourished as never before and acquired a cultural and political unity. This was expressed by one word "Gujarat" or *Gurjjara-manḍala*.

It is of this period principally that I would deal at length. For we have a fairly large number of inscriptions of the Caulukya dynasty, and a number of literary sources with which we can check the inscriptional evidence. For considering the total number of inscriptions, roughly 280, spreading over a period of 1600 years, from about 300 B.C. before Christ to 1300 A.D., and assignable to some 20 dynasties, we have about 100 inscriptions of the Solanki dynasty only. And unlike those of the Maitrakas of *Valabhī*, these 100 records do not contain stereotyped description of kings and names of *Brāhmaṇas*, but are comparatively richer and of diverse types.

I have been alluding to inscriptions which I have called sources of my information. It is necessary to know in some detail what these inscriptions are, and what their value is in reconstructing the past history and culture of Gujarat.

Inscriptions as Historical Documents

Inscriptions are writings inscribed either on stone, copper-plate, coins, pottery, terracotta, seals, or even palm leaves. These writings are not conscious attempts to record the history of a particular event itself of the past. In this sense they are not historical documents. Their main object is either to record

- (1) a donation by a king or a private individual to a *Brāhmaṇa* or to some other donee or a temple,
- (2) in eulogistic language the deeds of a king or a private individual,
- (3) the death of a king or an individual,
- (4) orders or commands of a king.

Types of Inscriptions

Thus depending upon the central theme of the inscription, we may divide the inscriptions of Gujarat into four broad classes:

- (1) Donative.
- (2) Eulogistic or Praśasti type.
- (3) Commemorative.
- (4) Rescripts.

The inscriptions of Aśoka at Girnar belong to the last class. These are rescripts on morality, asking people what they should do and not do.

NATURE OF THE SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

Of the 12 Kṣatrapa inscriptions only one, the Junagadh or Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, is a Praśasti. The rest are commemorative or donative. Likewise Skandagupta's inscription at Girnar is a Praśasti.

Of the three *Traikūṭaka* inscriptions, one is purely donative and the two others are of a mixed nature—eulogistic and donative. All the Gurjjara, *Cālukya*, Maitraka, Saindhava, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and most of the Solanki inscriptions are exactly of a similar nature. But there are some, e.g., the Vadnagar inscription of *Kumārapāla*, which are pure *Praśasti*, while there are others which are purely donative or commemorative.

Whether written from a historical point of view or not, all the above described types of inscriptions mention incidentally certain facts which are useful and have been used for the last 100 years in reconstructing India's past. In a way it is good, for like a consciously written history we are not likely to get a biased account. Of course, this remark is not true of the *Praśasti* class of inscriptions. But even here by checking the grandiloquent praises of a king and his exploits, we are able to form a reasonable estimate of his character, the extent of his dominions and his relations with his contemporaries as well as the administrative, religious and social conditions of his time.

In the case of other types of inscriptions we are absolutely on a safe ground. For the aim and object of these inscriptions is to record details about the donor, and the object donated and the year, month, and day and the occasion on which it was donated. From each of the items we can visualise more or less fully, the prevailing tendencies in the use of an era, belief in auspicious occasions, fashions, and style of writing, and the existence of certain cults¹.

Attempts have been made by me and others before me to form some idea of the method of administration and administrative units. But so far no attempt has been made to fix the size of a territorial or administrative unit, the size, the character and nature of the population, and from the study of both of these, the nature of the spoken language and the changes it has undergone in the last 1000 years.

For this purpose I have selected only the inscriptions of the Caulukya dynasty for they offer us data in a manner which can be satisfactorily worked out.

¹ See Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat.

Special Features of Caulukya Records

The points in which these records differ from the earlier records are these: First as regards the object donated which is usually a piece of land or a village. Some of the earlier grants merely mention the village, which makes it almost impossible to identify the village. Some others define the boundaries and while doing so mention the villages on its four sides. This makes the task a little easier. Most of the *Valabhī* grants are like these. Others go a step forward and mention the larger units in which the village is comprised. While these details are welcome what is required is that

- (1) the village donated,
- (2) the large unit of which it forms a part,
- (3) its boundaries,
- (4) the place or part from where the grant is made, should be given. Further, these details we should have for a certain unit, for a number of years, and not once in a while, and secondly not for one unit only but all the contiguous units, so that we can form a correct idea of the limits of each unit.

For example, we cannot know the size of the Poona Taluka and Poona District unless we have got a fairly good idea of the number of villages in the Poona Taluka as well as the number of other talukas which go to form the Poona District.

Fortunately such details we get in a few inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis from which we can form an idea of the size of the administrative units and distribution of population of parts of Northern Gujarat, which are now within the Baroda State. These are discussed in the second lecture.

Lecture II

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

In the first lecture I discussed briefly the sources of my information, having first explained the aim, and the method followed in the preparation of these lectures. The sources were mentioned in their proper chronological and political context. In this lecture I propose to reconstruct the administrative divisions of the Caulukya or Solanki empire.

In order that we may follow clearly the process of the formation and governance of this empire I would go back to this period tracing briefly the formation of the administrative divisions during the British, Maratha and the Muslim rule in Gujarat. This method, I think, will make the understanding of the past easier.

Present Divisions of Gujarat

The Bombay Presidency, as constituted at present, includes practically the whole of Gujarat proper. For the collection of revenue and other administrative purposes it is divided into several districts or *jillās*. Thus we have beginning from the north the following districts:

Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahal, Broach and Surat. Each of these districts is further divided into subdivisions, which are locally called $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}s$. I do not know if there is any English word for this smaller unit. Each $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$ consists of a certain number of villages. A village is thus the lowest unit.

It may be asked, "what was the basis on which the British fixed the size of their district and tālukā?" Two things might give us the clue. First the comparison of the size of a district with the size of the jillā or similar units during the Mughal rule. We need not consider the practice prevalent during the Maratha hegemony over Gujarat. For though they might have introduced some changes in the Deccan proper, as far as Gujarat and other provinces are concerned, they had hardly

the time or suitable atmosphere to try new forms. During their first raids they were concerned with the collection of one-fourth of the revenue by some means or other; during more peaceful times, I think, they were content to allow old forms to continue.

These old forms of administrative machinery were those prevalent under their—Marathas'—predecessors, viz., the Mughals.

Divisions under the Mughals

The first Mughal rulers, Babar and Humayun, had to establish themselves firmly in the land, so they could not even think of any innovations. Conditions were different with Akbar. After having consolidated and enlarged his forefathers' empire he began its systematic reconstruction. But even in this he stuck to old forms wherever necessary. Thus we are told that there was nothing new, except the redistribution of the provinces. The creation of a sūba seems to be a Mughal innovation, but its divisions into sarkārs was not. For under the Sultans of Gujarat the province of Gujarat was divided into 25 sarkārs, and Akbar divided it into 16 sarkārs. The whole empire was organised into divisions.

Each division was called a *sūba*. This *sūba* was thus equivalent of the present day British province. The *sūba* was further sub-divided into *sarkārs*. The *sūba* of Gujarat was divided into the following *sarkārs*:

- (1) Ahmedabad, (2) Pattan, (3) Baroda, (4) Broach, (5) Champaner,
- (6) Godhra, (7) Nanded, (8) Surat, and (9) Sorath.

On comparing these divisions with the present divisions of Gujarat, it would be clear that with the addition of the territories of the Baroda and Rajpipla states in Gujarat and Kathiawar to the 6 British districts, both the divisions would be almost identical. In fact it should be so. For excepting some minor States which existed even in the Mughal and pre-Mughal days, the English and the Gaikwads seem to be sharing between them the old Mughal $s\bar{u}ba$ of Gujarat.

The British organised their portion into five districts as mentioned before, whereas the Gaikwad formed his territories into a small "empire" and divided it into three or four " $pr\bar{a}ntas$ ", each under a $s\bar{u}ba$. Here is a slight misapplication of the word, originated perhaps by the English. The $s\bar{u}ba$ is an Arabic term for a province; the person in charge of it was and should be called a $S\bar{u}b\bar{a}dar$, according to the tradition.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Under the Surs, the predecessors of the Mughals, the largest administrative unit was known by the name of the country or the capital. Next to it came $sark\bar{a}r$, corresponding with the earlier terms $shiqq^1$, khitta and even iqta. The $sark\bar{a}r$ is supposed to be introduced by the Surs, but there is no direct evidence.²

As under the previous Muslim rulers, so also under the Mughals each $sark\bar{a}r$ or district was further sub-divided into pargaṇas. It appears that the division of a $sark\bar{a}r$ into pargaṇas was on territorial basis only; each $sark\bar{a}r$ and pargaṇa was divided into $mah\bar{a}l$ (plural of Persian $mah\bar{a}ll$, place) for fiscal purposes. This system is still continued by the British as well as by the Gaikwad. For they have allowed their smaller subdivisions—fiscal and territorial—to be called $mah\bar{a}l$ or $ta^calluque$ $(t\bar{a}luk\bar{a})$.

Administrative Units under Delhi Sultans

Thus we see how our present administrative system is partly inherited from the old Mughal and pre-Mughal traditions. But it is in part only. For both we and the Mughals have discarded the older names of large divisions. Shiqq was one of them. It was applied by the Sultans of Delhi after they consolidated their Indian conquests into an empire in A.D. 1193 with Qutb-ud-din Aibak or with Iltutmish, who was the first to receive the investiture from the emissaries of the Caliph Mansur in A.D. 1229. We are told that "the provincial administration was a replica of the central government...the unit of administration was the village; villages were grouped into parganas, and the latter into shiqqs. The shiqqs and some provinces came to be known as sarkārs towards the end of the period." This shiqq and its sub-division pargana have disappeared from use in modern Gujarat, though the words ta'alluqa, mahāl and zila have become part of the Gujarati language. Under the Tughluqs, every province $(iql\bar{\imath}m)$ was divided into a number of districts, and district (shiqq) was sub-divided into towns (madīnah), and every

¹ "जिकदार" Sik-dār (officer collecting the revenues of a district) is a Bengali surname now. S. K. C.

² TRIPATHI, R. P., Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, 1936, 309; also QUANUNGO, K. R.. Sher Shah, 1921, 351,354, 357.

QURESHI, Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, 11.

town had as its dependency a *sadi*, a collection of 100 villages or *pargaṇa*. *Sadi* was the lowest administrative unit.¹

I was anxious to find out how the various Muslim rulers—the Sultans of Delhi, including Sher Shah, the Sultans of Gujarat and the Mughals had brought the various names for territorial and fiscal units into use. For it would be interesting to know whether these terms are Arabic, Persian or Turkish in origin and whether these were used by the Muslim emperors outside India prior to the coming of the Muslims to India or whether they had none or few of such divisions and subdivisions and were inspired to coin them on the analogy of the existing Indian names.²

My information on these points does not go far.

The pargana is supposed³ to be the Indian name for an aggregate of villages. The first reference to it is said to be in the chronicles of the Sultanate of Delhi, viz., Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi. In the XIV century it partially superseded the unit kaṣba. Both Sher Shah and Akbar retained this unit, which was smaller than the sarkār.

What the *Encyclopaedia* means by saying that it is "an Indian name," and further that "in all probability is based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest" cannot be clearly understood. The word is not met with in pre-Muslim works.⁴ Probably what it means is that the size of the *pargaṇa* was coextensive with that of a pre-Muslim Indian unit.

Like the *pargaṇa*, the smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was also called a *mahāl*. It is an Arabic word, meaning originally a place where one makes a halt. In Persian and Hindustani it came to be called *muhulla*,⁵ and in Gujarati *mahāl*.

¹ Agha Mahdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad Bin Tughluq, 1938, 224.

² According to Sarkar, the Turkish conquerors brought with themselves to this new home, the type of administration which had long been known to extra-Indian Muslim countries as the model, viz., the administrative system of the Abbasid Khalifs of Iraq and the Fatimid of Egypt." Mughal Administration, 6.

³ Encyclopaedia of Islam.

According to Dr. Chatterji, it is a Persianised Sanskrit word. Pragana > Parganah, while Professor Shaikh considers it a Persian word. Its transliteration is given as suggested by the latter.

⁵ Encyclopaedia, op. cit. 110.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

 $S\bar{u}ba$ also is an Arabic substantive from the root $s\bar{u}ba$ meaning primarily a collection, a heap of wheat etc. In Akbar's time the great provinces which were previously called by such words as shiqq or khitta, came to be called $s\bar{u}bas$.

By a strange paradox, in the Baroda State, its "province" is called a $pr\bar{a}nta$, a purely Sanskrit word, while their heads are called $s\bar{u}bas$, which is wrong and should be $S\bar{u}bad\bar{a}rs$, or more strictly $Pr\bar{a}nt\bar{a}dhipatis$.

The origin of the words $kaṣb\bar{a}$, $sh\bar{\imath}qq$, or khitta, $zil\bar{a}$ and $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$ (ta' alluka), which are all Arabic, and $sark\bar{a}r$, which is Persian, cannot be satisfactorily traced at present.

Territorial Units In Pre-Muslim India

Pre-Muslim India had a wealth of such units each connoting a certain aspect of the size of the land from the earliest historical times.

Pre-Mauryan literary sources like *Pāṇini*, speak of *jānapada*, *maṇ-dala*, and *viṣaya* as territorial or political units, or sometimes as 'country' in general. In a similar sense they are used by *Kauṭalya*. Historically the earliest empire that we know of is the Maurya empire. Unfortunately we have no detailed knowledge how this vast empire which included Peshawar in the north and parts of Mysore in the south and Bengal and Kathiawar on the east and west was divided into provinces.

Maurya Period

In the edicts of Aśoka we find the units jānapada, viṣaya, āhāra, pradeśa and the terms 'Rāṣṭrika' and 'Raṭhika', i.e. officers governing a rāṣṭra. Why maṇḍala which is discussed at length by Kauṭalya does not occur even once is rather strange, unless it be explained that maṇḍala is used by Kauṭalya in the sense of an independent kingdom. And the edicts, though referring to such frontier kingdoms refer to them by their proper name or names of the people, and not by the qualifying words as deśa, or maṇḍala. It appears that the independent or ruling but tribute-paying kingdoms were called maṇḍalas, whereas the provinces under the emperor were called jānapadas. These were probably

¹ Encyclopaedia, op. cit. 490.

² It has never been used in ancient India for territorial units, except for describing frontier kingdoms as in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

sub-divided into $r\bar{a}stras$. The former were under "viceroys," and the latter under governors called $R\bar{a}striyas$. There were viceroys at $Taksasil\bar{a}$, $Ujjayin\bar{i}$, and Suvarnagiri (in Mysore State). The $R\bar{a}striyas$ —Pusyagupta and Yavana Tusastha under Candragupta and Asoka respectively were probably under the viceroy of Malwa. If thus $r\bar{a}strasilon$ stood for a province, its further sub-divisions were visaya, pradesastasilon, abatasilon and abatasilon grama, each unit smaller than the preceding unit.

Two centuries later, round about the Christian era, as the epigraphs tell us, the unit $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, larger than the village (and pathaka, which we meet later) and perhaps equivalent of our district was current practically throughout India. The unit larger than $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$ was perhaps the $r\bar{a}stra$, and smaller pathaka. Thus we know of $S\bar{a}tahani$ -rattha ($r\bar{a}stra$?) from an early Pallava plate, and Kammaka-ratha from a Jagayyapeta inscription, and the Ujeni ($Ujjayin\bar{i}$)- $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, Govadhana- $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, $M\bar{a}mala$ - $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, Sop $\bar{a}raka$ - $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, and Kapura- $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, from the Sanchi Stupa, Nasik and Kanheri cave inscriptions. The four last mentioned $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ras$ would constitute probably the modern districts of Nasik, Thana and Pcona.

Before proceeding I may mention here that of all these units only $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$ seems to be originally a fiscal unit, the word having been derived from $V^-hr^-\bar{a}$, meaning to offer, in this case some form of food, the produce of land, later other taxes. Its smaller part was called $\bar{a}harani$, as we know from later epigraphs of the Maitrakas. The rest,—viṣaya, patha and pathaka seem to be originally territorial units, later becoming both territorial and fiscal. Viṣaya is mentioned by $P\bar{a}nini$ as a territorial unit. Patha or pathaka originally meaning road, course, reach, must have gradually come to mean "area within certain reach". Thus $D\bar{a}ksin\bar{a}$ -and $Uttar\bar{a}$ -patha. Pathaka would be a dimunitive, meaning a smaller unit.

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<sup>1</sup> Lueders, E1. X. Appendix, No. 1200.
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⁴ Ibid. No. 1202.

Ibid. No. 268.

^{&#}x27; Ibid. No. 1124.

Ibia. No. 1105.

f Ibid. No. 988.

⁷ Ibid. No. 1133.

BOETHLING and ROTH, 6, 1248.

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Gupta Administration

After the Maurya, the second well-known empire was that of the Guptas. Under them both the Central and Provincial Governments, it appears, were most carefully organized. At least the information at our disposal is such that we are able to picture before us, a much more complete and living organization than during any period either before or after the Guptas. Not only do we get to know how the far-flung empire was divided into various provinces, these into sub-divisions, and further sub-divisions but also how each unit was governed and in some cases who the administrator of each unit was.

The empire was divided into the central and provincial governments. We are not much concerned with the central government, or how the empire was governed as much as with the constitution of the empire into various provincial units.

In the eastern part of the empire the following territorial units were current:—grāma, viṣaya, bhukti, khaṇḍa, deśa, each larger than the preceding one. In the western the following territorial units were current: grāma, pathaka, āhāra, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala, rāṣṭra(?). Of course, of the last we have no direct information from Gupta inscriptions. 1

This administrative system, handed down from a long past, and perhaps perfected under the Guptas was followed all over India with local differences in each small or large succeeding empire, or independent kingdom, or a vassal state until the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi in A. D. 1193 or 1229.

Administrative System in Gujarat

What was the system prevalent in Gujarat? Was it in any way different from the Gupta administrative system?

As I have said previously we cannot form a detailed idea as to how Gujarat or its three constituents were governed during the Maurya and the succeeding periods up to the close of the Gupta period. The only thing we do know is that under the Mauryas and the Guptas, Gujarat formed the outlying province of their respective empires. We further

¹ From the mention of *Varddhamāna-l·hukti* in a Maitraka plate, *JRBRAS*, XI. 344. Since this is in *Saurāṣṭra*, the statement (*Life in the Gupta Age* 318) requires to be modified.

know from an extra-Gujarat inscription that about the 5th century Lāṭa was called a viṣaya; whether this was in a technical sense, meaning a part of the empire or kingdom, or merely in the sense of country we have no means to ascertain. Probably the viṣaya here connotes a country.

Some slight detailed information begins to trickle in from the *Trai-kūṭaka* period onwards. Of course, it relates only to those parts of Gujarat, which were under the respective dynasties. The *Traikūṭaka* inscriptions tell us that *Aparānta*, the northern part of the Konkan seaboard was called *deśa*. One of its sub-divisions was *Kāpura-āhāra*. Perhaps larger than this unit was a *viṣaya*. One of which was the *Antarmanḍali-viṣaya*, that is the *Pūrṇā-minḍholā doab*, now comprised partly under the *Mahuvā* and *Navsari Mahāls* of the *Navsari Prānt* in the Baroda State. This shows that the territorial limits of a unit were at times fixed by geographical considerations.

There was a still smaller unit called *pallikā*. Thus we have in the ascending series the following units: $gr\bar{a}ma$, pura, $pallik\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, viṣaya and deśa.

North of the Tapti there were the Bharukaccha and the Antara-nārmadā-viṣaya, that is the doab between the Narbada and the Tapti (?). Since these two are mentioned in inscriptions of two different dynasties, viz., the Kaṭaccuris and the inscription of Saṅgamasiṅha we cannot say whether the Bharukaccha-viṣaya was to the north of the Narbada, and the other to its south or whether their limits overlapped. From the mention of a sub-division, Gorajja-bhoga, which is located in the Halol Taluka of the Panch Mahal district, it would appear that the Bharukaccha-viṣaya included the country north of the Narbada and extended as far as Halol in the north-east. Incidentally we know that bhoga and draṅga were two of the sub-divisions of a viṣaya. The person in charge of the former was called Bhogika or Bhogikapāla; of the latter Draṅgika.

Territorial Units under the Gurjjaras

Still further details are available from the records of the Gurjjaras of Nāndīpurī, who succeeded the Kaṭaccuris. Small and dependent as their kingdom was, it still consisted of at least four large divisions (viṣayas): viz., the Antaranarmadā, Ankuleśvara, Bharukaccha, and Sangamakheṭaka. That is the country now comprised between the

Tapti in the south and the Mahi in the north and the middle reaches of the Orsang on the north-east. Even now it is roughly distributed between four districts and the Sankheda $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$ of the Baroda $Pr\bar{a}nt$ in the Baroda State. Thus the division of the Gurjjara kingdom into four sub-divisions seems to be reasonable, justified as it is by modern division of the land.

As all the places mentioned in each viṣaya cannot be satisfactorily identified I have not been able to fix the limits of each viṣaya, nor able to say whether the names (viṣayas) Ankuleśvara, Bharukaccha and Antaranarmadā were always applicable to the same area or whether at times they were applied to different areas. Discovery of more records of the period and identification of all the place-names might enable us to acquire a definite knowledge of the extension of the divisions of the Gurijara kingdom. And probably, as Buehler suggested, the northern part of Broach district comprising the tālukās of Broach, Vagra, Amod, and Jambusar were included in the Bharukaccha viṣaya, just as the Ankuleśvara viṣaya comprised the tālukā of Ankuleśvara together with the petā tālukā of Hamsot.

The viṣaya was further divided into āhāras; the āhāra into pathakas; and the pathaka into grāmas. Besides these units we hear of one more unit, called bhukti. Now this is the first time that we know of the existence of units like the pathaka and bhukti in Gujarat. During the Gupta period a number of bhuktis are known from the U. P. and Bengal. A bhukti was sometimes equivalent of a viṣaya; sometimes larger than it. In the later period of Gujarat history we rarely come across a bhukti. From this it would appear that it was introduced by or during the Gupta period in Gujarat, but died out later.

Had the information supplied by the records of $C\bar{a}lukyas$ of Navasari not been so meagre we would have known what exactly the territorial units south of the Tapti were. At present we can only say that the system of division of the kingdom into visayas, and $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ras$ was current there.

Under the Rastrakutas

The $R\bar{a}$ strak \bar{u} tas succeeded the $C\bar{a}$ lukyas. Under them Gujarat once more became a province—perhaps for the first and the last time,—of a southern ruler. In the earlier period of the $R\bar{a}$ strak \bar{u} ta rule, it was

governed by their relatives and feudatories, who were called *Mahā-sāmanta* or *Sāmantadhipati*.

Normally the sway of the Imperial $R\bar{a}$ strak \bar{u} tas extended over the whole of $L\bar{a}$ ta, that is, up to and including the modern Kaira district as far as Kapadvanj in the north. To this were added Malwa and some territory in the northeast and southeast and southwest (part of eastern Kathiawar) by victories over the Gurjara-Pratih \bar{a} ras and others.

During the zenith of the $R\bar{a}$ strakūṭa rule the $L\bar{a}$ ta province included Kaira on the north and Daman in the south, that is, modern Central and Southern Gujarat. It was at times called $L\bar{a}$ ta-deśa; at others $L\bar{a}$ ta-maṇḍala. Thus these two, deśa and maṇḍala, were the largest units. But a maṇḍala was ordinarily smaller than and within a deśa as we are told that Kheṭaka-maṇḍala was in $L\bar{a}$ ṭa-deśa. The mention of a maṇḍala is interesting. Kauṭalya mentions it as the name of a separate and independent kingdom not in the sense of a province. But we find no reference to such a unit in either the pre-Gupta or Gupta times. Only late in the post-Gupta period it comes into existence and is found current all over northern India after the 9th century.

Over and above the reference to the *maṇḍala*, we get a more intimate picture of Central and Southern Gujarat, for we recognize in it some of the places which occupied a leading position then as now. Such as *Kheṭaka* (or *Kheḍā* or Kaira) which was the capital, Kapadvanj (*Kārpaṭavāṇijya*), Modasa (*Mohaḍavāsaka*), *Mahiṣa*, *Kāvi* (*Kapikā*), Jambusar, Borsad (Baddarsasiddhi), Bardoli (Varadapalli), Baroda, Katargam (*Kantārgrāma*), Sanjan, and Navsari.

Strangely enough the records found hitherto do not mention $A\dot{n}$ -kuleśvara, Bharukaccha and $Sa\dot{m}gamakheṭaka$ as viṣayas, though these places are mentioned once. However we know that the modern Jambusar $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$, which once formed the northern part of Bharukaccha viṣaya, was now included in the $Kheṭak\bar{a}$ -maṇḍala, with the important places of $K\bar{a}pik\bar{a}$ -mahāsthāna and Kemajju or Kevañja at the $sangam\bar{a}$ of the Mahi and the Gulf of Cambay.

¹ As a recently discovered grant of Govinda from Bhavnagar granting a village near *Pālitāna* would show, if the grant is genuine. I owe this information to my friend **Prof. P. M.** Mod.

Likewise the country to the northwest of Sankheda was now under a unit called *Maṅkanikā-bhukti*, *Maṅkanikā* being Mankani in the Sankheda *mahāl*.

The country to the west of Sankheda $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$, now forming the Baroda $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$, probably formed then a part of a group of villages called $A\dot{n}kottaka$ -84.

The coastal tract now forming the Olpad and Chorasi $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}s$ of the Surat district, and Navsari $Pr\bar{a}nt$ of the Baroda State, constituted perhaps two or three large units. The northern part was the $Kantargr\bar{a}ma-visaya$, the southern under Konkana-visaya. Besides these the records mention four other visayas, which cannot be properly identified. Perhaps Kapadvanj and the country to its north came under the Mahisaka-42 visaya, identifying Mahisaka with Mahisa, a place a few miles to the north of Kapadvanj.

More interesting is the reference to several groups of villages, such as Ankottaka-84, Harṣapura-750, and Kārpaṭavāṇiya-84, Ruriddha-10, Sīharakhi-12 and Variavi-16.

It is for the first time that we hear of this practice of units formed by a group of villages in ancient Gujarat. Dr. ALTEKAR¹ has traced back this practice to the *Mahābhārata*, ² *Manusmṛti*, ³ and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. ⁴ Different opinions have been expressed on the exact interpretation of these terms. But it is interesting to note that in Gujarat the custom survives in such names as Chorasi-tālukā, Kapadvanj-chorāsi, etc.

There is only one reference to the unit, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, viz., Tenna or $Trenna-\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, which is identified with Ten, a little north of Bardoli in the Surat district, and one to pathaka.

Thus in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa administration we have deśa, mandala, āhāra, bhukti, or viṣaya, pathaka, a group of villages, and finally the lowest, a village. Sufficient details are not available at present to ascertain the relation between the three units below the mandala.

¹ ALTEKAR, Rāshṭrakūṭas, 138.

² Sāntiparvan, 87.3-5.

⁸ VII.115. Cf. JHA, Manu Smrti Notes, III, Comparative, 506.

⁴ III.4-6

Under the Paramaras

We saw that the Kheṭaka-maṇḍala during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period included the northern part of modern Broach district, but we had no evidence to form an idea of its extension in the north. Welcome data are provided on this question by records of the Paramāras who during the middle of the 10th century were first under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and then became independent. These records tell us that the Kheṭaka-maṇḍala included the Mohaḍavāṣaka-viṣaya. This Mohaḍavāṣaka is no other than the present Moḍāṣā in the Prantij tālukā of the Ahmedabad district

Surastra

I have so far confined myself to describing the territorial units in $L\bar{a}ta$ and $\bar{A}nartta$ or coastal and northern Gujarat respectively. $Sur\bar{a}stra$ or Kathiawar was left out of consideration. It formed an outlying province of the Maurya and Gupta empires, but what its internal territorial organization then was we do not know. This we get to know during the post-Gupta period when the Maitrakas established themselves at $Valabh\bar{a}$ in the 6th century or a little earlier. From the Eastern Kathiawad the Maitrakas gradually extended their sway over the whole of Kathiawad, then the coastal strip of Gujarat which included at least Kaira in the north and Broach or Katargam on the Tapti in the south, and at times, it appears, even Malwa in the east, implying thereby the possession of Central Gujarat, including the present Panch Mahal district.

Territorial Units under the Maitrakas

To govern this extensive empire the Maitrakas not only borrowed the existing system of territorial division, but developed in their own home province, Saurāṣṭra, a system which, since it is neither known to exist in pre-Maitraka or post-Maitraka period, either in Kathiawar or elsewhere, seems to be their contribution to the growth of or the sumtotal of indigenous Indian territorial divisions.

Besides the larger territorial units like the āhāra, bhukti, pathaka and viṣaya, the existence of three of which we know during the Gupta period, we hear of small units as bheda, bhūmi, dranga, maṇḍali, peṭha, prāpa, prāveśya, and sthali. It would have been indeed splendid if it

were possible to gauge the comparative territorial limits of all these units. Unfortunately it is not possible, in spite of my best efforts to work them out. The reason is that out of nearly 200 place-names, not more than 50 can be satisfactorily identified. Consequently we cannot fix the boundaries even of the few larger units which contained these places.

At present we can say that there was at least a viṣaya in the Maitraka empire, of which except Mālavaka, the other five, Antaratrā, Kheṭaka, Simhabhāgapura, Suryapura, and Surāṣṭra were in Gujarat. The territory around Varddhamāna, modern Wadhwan, formed a bhukti. This may have been from the Gupta times. Hastavapra, (Greek Astakampra), modern Hathab, near Bhavnagar, formed the head-quarters of an āhāra, as also Kheṭaka (Kaira). There were no less than 9 pathakas and 16 sthalis, besides a peṭha, a prāpa, 2 prāveśyas, a bhūmi, a draṅga, and a maṇḍali. It would be really interesting to find out the relation between a pathaka and a sthali. The present Vanthli must have formed formerly the head quarters of the Vāmana-sthali from which it is derived.

This brief review of the territorial units in Gujarat-Kathiawar from about 300 B.C. to 970 A.D. shows that though we get more and more details about the units, as we enter the early mediaeval period, these details are not such as to enable us to form a definite idea of the size of a pathaka, viṣaya or maṇḍala during a particular period.

Fortunately some of the inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis, under whom the whole of Gujarat-Kathiawar came to be unified, supply us data, with which most of Northern Gujarat, especially that portion which is within the Baroda State can be properly studied, and its territorial and administrative divisions worked out.

Formation of Caulukya Empire

Before I enter into these details and frame the different units and sub-units, it is necessary to have a picture before us of the Caulukya empire. Here too we are fortunate. We can actually, step by step, see how the whole empire was built up, just as we can now show how the British empire, or the Mughal empire was formed.

¹ Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 39.

It is well known that $M\bar{u}lar\bar{a}ja$ overthrew the $C\bar{a}vad\bar{a}s$ or $C\bar{a}potkatas$ and established himself in their kingdom. The kingdom is traditionally called Panchasar; its capital being $Anahilap\bar{a}taka$ (Anhilvad). This is now sandwiched between Radhanpur and Harij-Patan $Mah\bar{a}ls$ of the Baroda State. The earliest Caulukya inscription calls this territory $S\bar{a}rasvata-mandala$, the province formed by or in the Sarasvati valley. Such a small, semi-arid country could hardly satisfy an ambitious and powerful general like $M\bar{u}lar\bar{a}ja$. He thought of subjugating his neighbours. The circumstances were favourable for this venture. For the Gurjara- $Pratih\bar{a}ra$ empire was tottering to pieces, or had already gone and he was probably one of its surviving generals.

So having established himself in the *Sārasvata maṇḍala*, he conquered Satyapura-*maṇḍala*, that is, the country to the north of the Sarasvati valley, the territory round about modern Sanchor, in the Jodhpur or Marwar State, thus linking up Anhilvad once again with *Bhinnamāla* and parts of parent Gujarat.

Mūlarāja's son Bhīma I acquired Kaccha-maṇḍala, i.e. Cutch, and Karṇa, his son and successor annexed Lāṭa-maṇḍala. Jayasimha Siddharāja conquered Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala, Avanti, Bhāilasvāmi-mahā-dvādasaka, (that is the whole of Malwa), Dadhipadra-maṇḍala (i.e. modern Panchmahal District with Dohad) and some maṇḍala (not named), in Rajputana comprising modern Jodhpur and Udaipur States. His successors Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla retained their hold over these far-flung provinces constituting modern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Malwa and southern Rajputana. Later rulers, Bhīma II, Vīradhavala, and others' control over Malwa, Southern Rajputana and even Lāṭa was precarious. It was often challenged and at times wrested by the Paramāras, Cāhamānas, and Yādavas of Devagiri. Nevertheless till the very end, A.D. 1296, Cutch and Kathiawar remained part of the Caulukya empire whose core was northern Gujarat.

A maṇḍala, it would appear, was the largest territorial division, corresponding to a modern province, though at times Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra are called deśas and Gurjjara (the whole of Gujarat?) a maṇḍala. But this may be while referring to Surāṣṭra or Lāṭa in a certain independent context. Their position in the empire was that of a maṇḍala or a province.

The units smaller than the mandala were the following, in a descending order: viṣaya, pathaka, group of villages and a village. Ordinarily the limits of a viṣaya and those of a pathaka were fixed, but at times what was once a viṣaya was called a pathaka and vice versa.

Absence of units like āhāra, dranga, mandali, sthali, prāpa and prāveśya which were current during the Valabhī period is surprising, and can be explained either on the score of insufficient evidence from Kathiawar, or on the ground that these units were a special feature of the Maitraka administration, which became obsolete after their fall.

However, the units maṇḍala, viṣaya and pathaka coming down from a hoary antiquity, lasted all through the Solanki period until the advent of the Muslims. And it is remarkable that the term maṇḍala was used at this period exactly in the same sense, viz., that of a province or state, either independent or vassal, as described in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya.

We have seen what different units constituted the Caulukya or Solanki empire. Let us go over them again with a view to fixing their boundaries.

Identification of the Mandalas

The very first mandala to be mentioned is the Sārasvata-mandala. It is a pity that so far there is only one reference to it, but in the absence of any contradictory evidence I am inclined to think that this mandala, at the zenith and even till the very end of the Caulukya power, included most of the Mehsana or Kadi prānt of the Baroda State, plus probably the States of Radhanpur, to the west of Patan or Harij mahāl, and Palanpur in the north of Patan and Siddhpur mahāls, and minus the Dehgam and other mahāls of the State. Roughly the mandala formed the portion between the north-east to south-west flowing Banas and the north-southwest flowing Sabarmati. The northernmost point was perhaps Dhānada, the capital of the Dhānada-āhāra-pathaka, and the southernmost Līlāpura or say our present Viramgam. The second mandala was the Satyapura-mandala. Only its capital (?) Satyapura can be definitely identified with modern Sanchor¹ in the

¹ Thus "Saccapura"> Saccaüra, Saccaura Saccaur, Saccor," S.K.C.

Jodhpur State. There are no other references to it, nor many references to the subdivisions contained within it, so that its probable limits cannot be given. It might have encompassed most of the present Jodhpur State.

The Kaccha-mandala stands for the State of Cutch, but it is not absolutely certain if the Surāṣṭra-mandala, throughout the Caulukya period, stood for the whole of Kathiawar, or merely its southern portion.

Identification of the few places occurring in inscriptions shows that at least the southern half of Kathiawar was included in Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala. Perhaps Dhavalakka (Dholka)—which is once said to be in the Gurjjara-maṇḍala formed the northernmost point of this maṇḍala. But I cannot be specific. The information is so meagre, and I would therefore confine myself to the enumeration of the places identified by me in Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala.

Thus an inscription of Kumārapāla, v.s. 1202, mentions Srī Mangalapura, Corūyavāḍa, Valija, Lāṭhivadra-pathaka Vīsaṇavelī-grāma, Srī Vāmanasthali and Talārā, which can be respectively identified with Mangrol, Chorwad, Balej, Latodra, and Wisanvel, Vanthli, and Talodra. All these places are within a radius of 4 to 10 miles from Mangrol, on the south-west coast of Kathiawad.

About 60 years later, a record of $Bh\bar{\imath}ma$ II's time, v.s. 1264, refers to places near the south-eastern coast. These are $Tal\bar{a}jh\bar{a}$ (where there were temples), $K\bar{a}\dot{m}vala\dot{\imath}li$ -grāma, $S\bar{\imath}\imath na$ -vadra, $Ph\bar{\imath}lasara$, $Ku\dot{\imath}dh\bar{a}val\bar{\imath}$ -grāma, and $Timv\bar{a}\imath a$. Corresponding to these we have $Tal\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, to its west the old and new $K\bar{a}mlol$, $S\bar{a}lavadar$, or Sakhvadar? to its north-west, about 5 miles on the road to $P\bar{a}lit\bar{a}\imath na$, $Ku\dot{\imath}dhel\bar{\imath}$, and across the Shetrunji river $Tim\bar{a}n\bar{a}$, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south Phulsar. The lake $S\bar{a}\dot{\imath}khad\bar{a}sara$ must have been built by or after $S\bar{a}khad\bar{a}$, who is mentioned in the inscription. All the places are situated in the Bhavnagar State.

Another inscription of $Bh\bar{\imath}ma\ II's$ time grants land in $\bar{A}kavaliy\bar{a}$ - $gr\bar{a}ma$, to the north of which was $Bh\bar{\imath}harad\bar{a}$, to the east $S\bar{a}k\bar{a}li$, south $Varad\bar{\imath}$, east $Gha\bar{\imath}tel\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ and $R\bar{a}jam\bar{a}rga$. These are most probably $\bar{A}nkola$, 2 miles east of Junagadh railway and 6 miles south of Jetalsar; Bhutwar, 8 miles north-west from $\bar{A}nk\bar{a}la$, and 5 miles west of Jetalsar; $S\bar{a}nkli$, 3 miles south of Jetalsar, Wadal, 4 miles south-west of $\bar{A}nk\bar{a}la$,

Gātilā, 3 miles south of Shahpur junction, and the Rājamārga, royal highway, will be the modern Junagadh-Jetalsar road. Thus all the places are to the east of Vanthli and north of Junagadh.

A third inscription mentions Samadiyā, which I would identify with Samadhiāla, 11 miles south-east of Vanthli.

Finally we have *Bhadrāṇaka* in a record of V.S. 1275 which is identified with *Bharāṇā*, under Jamnagar.

Khetaka Mandala

Three other mandalas present a similar difficulty. We do not know whether their boundaries overlapped or not. These are the $L\bar{a}ta$ Narmad $\bar{a}tata$ and the Dadhipadra mandalas. There is no reference to the Khetaka-mandala, which occurred so frequently during the $R\bar{a}stra-k\bar{u}ta$ period. But if its boundaries were the same as gathered from the Paramāra and $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ records, viz. with Modāsa in the Prāntij $T\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$, and Jambusara in the Broach district, then it would appear that the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$ was the N.E.-s.w. boundary of the Khetaka mandala, separating it from the $S\bar{a}rasvata-mandala$ and the Mah \bar{i} was the N.E. and s.w. boundary in the south. How far eastwards it extended we cannot say for certain.

Lata Mandala

From the *Mahī* or *Narbadā* downwards extended the *Lāṭa maṇḍala* including the country along the coast and reached as far as *Navasāri*, or the *Purṇā*.

Narmada-tata Mandala

The inland country east of Dabhoi, which according to an inscription once formed part of the Gurjjara-maṇḍala, covering most of the valleys of the Narmadā and its tributaries: the Orsang, the Hiran and the Karjan, now forming the eastern half of the Baroda Prānt, and some parts of the Rājpipla and perhaps the Chhota Udaipur and Baria States, might have constituted the Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala. Unless more material comes forth either in the shape of Caulukya records relating to this region, or of their contemporaries, particularly the Paramāras who often controlled this region, the eastern, northern, and southern boundaries of this maṇḍala cannot be fixed.

Dadhipadra and Godrahaka Mahamandala

The above remarks would hold good of the Dadhi-padra-mandala also. It must lie north of the Narmadātata-mandala. What we know for certain is that Godrahaka (Godhra) stood on the eastern frontier of the mandala. And the whole of the mandala most probably acted as a buffer state between Gujarat and Malwa.

Malwa was represented once by Avanti-mandala, and once by Bhāillasvāmi-12-mandala. If Avantī is identified with Ujjain, and Bhāillasvāmi with Bhilsa we have a fairly large region stretching roughly from longitude 76° to 78°.

From this detailed survey the following approximate equivalents may be proposed.

Sārasvata-mandala

-Mehsana *Prānt*, Radhanpur and Palanpur States minus Dehgam Tālukā.

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Satyapura-mandala

= Todhpur State.

Khetaka-mandala

=The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, and northern part of Broach district.

Lāta-mandala

=Southern half of Broach district, Surat district and the northern part of Thana district

Narmadā-tata-mandala

=Eastern part of the Broach district, the territory on either side of the Narbada, comprising parts of Rajpipla State, and Sankheda Tālukā

Godrahaka-mahā-mandala

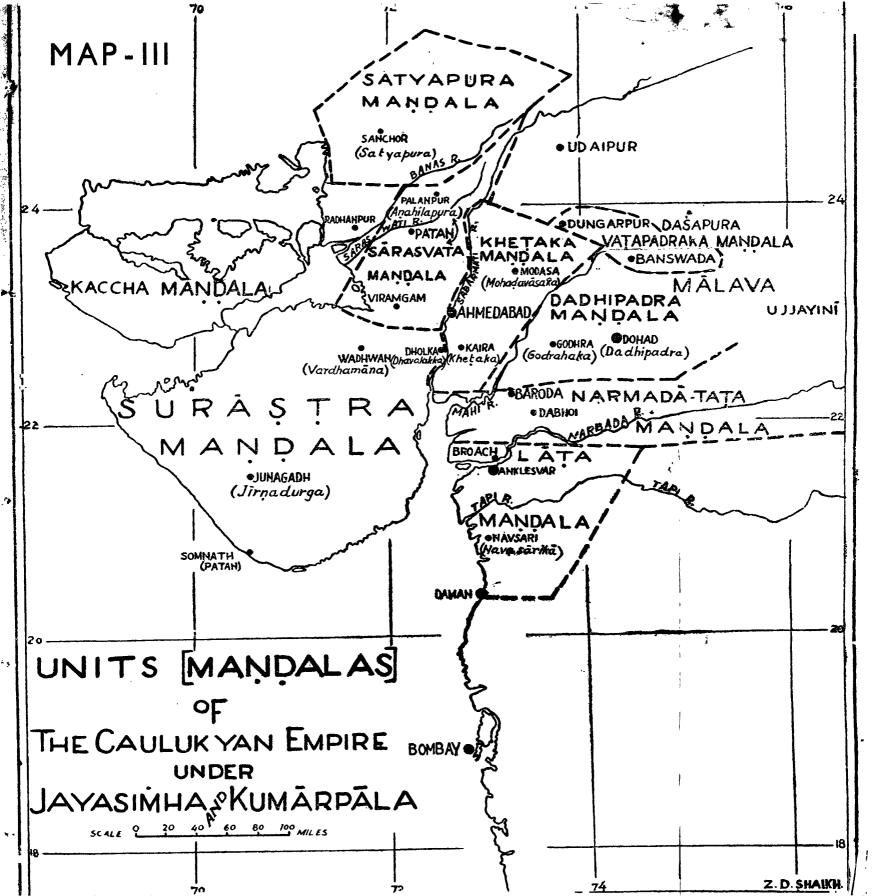
Dadhipadra-mandala and =Most of the Panchmahal district, and probably parts of Ihabua, Ratlam and other States.

Avanti and Bhāillasvāmi-12--mandala

=Malwa.

Sarasvata Mandala and its Subdivisions

Of this extensive empire, I am able to work out the further subdivisions and their divisions in the case of one mandala or province only. This is the Sārasvata-mandala, which I have called "the home province of the Caulukyas." It really formed the backbone of the empire as it forms of real Gujarat even now. Of course we cannot ignore Baroda and Surat, but both culturally and materially Ahmedabad holds the



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place which Anhilvad held during Caulukya period. For this Ahmedabad should be grateful to its Sultans.

A mandala, i.e., a province, was usually divided into visayas, i.e. districts, and the latter into pathakas i.e. tālukās or mahāls. Though this was the practice we find mention of only two visayas: Varddhi and Gambhutā. Both these are mentioned in early inscriptions only. Gambhutā-viṣaya is referred to in an inscription of Mūlarāja, and Varddhi-visaya twice, once in an inscription of Mūlarāja and once in that of Bhīma I. Gambhutā is identified with Gāmbhu on the Pusmāvatī in the Chanasma mahā! of the Mehsana Prānt. Varddhi was identified by BUEHLER with Vaddhiar, the name of a tract lying between the Radhanpur and Baroda State borders. I do not agree with this identification, because it is not linguistically correct. However, there is no doubt that the Gambhutā-visaya lay to the south of the Sarasvatī river; and the limits of the Varddhi extended as far as the Banās in the north. What the exact boundaries of these visayas were we do not know for want of more and detailed information.

Subsequent records of the Caulukyas and Vaghelas do not refer to any viṣaya in this Sārasvaā-maṇḍala. Both Varddhi and Gambhutā are called pathakas. Why this was done we cannot say. It would appear that it was found advisable for administrative and other purposes to divide the whole maṇḍala into a number of smaller units, called pathakas.

Thus we meet with the names of seven pathakas:— viz. Cālisā, Daṇḍāhī, Dhāṇada, Gaṇibhūtā, Vālauya, Varddhi and Viṣaya. Identification of the place-names within these pathakas has enabled me to determine with more or less certainty the limits of each pathaka, and lead me to think that these pathakas between themselves covered almost the whole of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala. I will briefly mention the details about each pathaka and its limits.

Dhanada-Ahara Pathaka

I would first take up the *Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka*, which is the first *pathaka* to be mentioned as such, and which formed the northern-

¹ VO7, V. 300.

most part of the Sārasvata-mandala. An inscription published 10 years ago tells us that Bhīma I while ruling the Dhānada-āhāra-pathaka granted the village of Varanāvādā. Most luckily we can identify both these places, the village granted, and the capital of the pathaka. Dhanada is Dhānda, about 10 miles east of Pālanpur. Even now it seems to be a big place, larger than the surrounding villages. Varanāvādā is Varnvāda, about 3 miles south of Dhānda. Unfortunately the places to the west and east of Varanavādā, viz. Chhīmdriyāla-grāma and Vāraasavalī cannot be located. Probably they have disappeared now. Though this is the only reference to this pathaka, we can roughly fix its boundaries by plotting other pathakas. According to Mirza Muhammad, (whose father was Waga'-i-nigar, or Chief Reporter under Prince Jahander Shah of Gujarat in 1708 A. D., the author himself becoming the Dewan of the province in 1747 A.D.), the author of Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Supplement, p. 206), the area covering Palanpur, Deesa, and Santiwara was in former times called Dhandar, which must be the same as our Dhānada.

Dandahi and Visaya Pathakas

The pathaka immediately south of the Dhāṇada-āhāra pathaka was called Dandāhī-pathaka. We have had two references to it: one in the time of Bhīma II dated v. s. 1256, the other in the time of Tribhuvanapāla, a stop-gap king who ruled for a few years during the chaos, dated v. s. 1290. Bhīma's record refers to Mahisāṇā-grāma which is no other than our Mehasana, a railway junction and the chief town of the prant and taluka of that name. While this record gives a few details only some of which can be satisfactorily identified, Tribhuvanapāla's record while granting the village Bhāmṣara gives its boundaries in great details, even mentioning the places in the sub-directions. In all 10 places are mentioned and fortunately all these can be identified. Thus Bhāmsara is Bhākhar. To its north lay Dāsayaja and Kāmbalī. These are Dāsaj, north of Bhākhar and Kāmbolī, n.w. of Bhākhar. To the east were Kuralī and Dāsayaja. Of these Kuralī cannot be identified. I suspect that its place has been taken away by Ranchhodpura, which by its name is a new place-name. In the south stood Kurali and Tribha. Of these Tribha is Tarabh, about 4 miles south-s.e. from Bhākhar. To the west were Arathaüra and

 $U\tilde{n}jh\bar{a}$. These are respectively Aithor, 3 miles s.w. and $U\tilde{n}jh\bar{a}$, 2 miles s.w. of $Bh\bar{a}khar$.

The same inscription grants another village, Rājapuri, to the north of which was Nandāvasaņa, to its n.e. Kuïla, to its east Kūlāvasana and Dāngarüā; to its s.e. Candāvasaņa and Indrāvada; to its south Āhirānā and west Sirasāvi and Nandāvasana, and n.w. Sirasāvi and Untaiivā. The scribe or the writer has made a slight mistake in indicating the directions of some of the places. But out of the 12, 10 places can be still located. These are in the order following the above, $R\bar{a}j$ pur, Nandāsan, Kiol, Jhulasan, Dāngarwa, Chadāsan, Idrād, Irāna, Sarsay, and Utaw respectively. All these villages (grāmas) are within a radius of 3 to 5 miles from $R\bar{a}ipur$. We are told that the first 10 places were situated witnin the Dandāhī-pathaka, and the 12 mentioned subsequently, while granting Rājapuri, in the Vişaya-pathaka. This is the only reference to this pathaka. But the places within these pathakas determine the latter's position and extent. Perhaps both these pathakas are referred to in the Prasasti of a palm-leaf manuscript of Mahāpurisa-Cariya, written during Kumārapāla's reign in v.s. 1227.1 That Dandāhī was once the name of a sub-division is mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Supplement, p. 206). There we are told that "In the kingdom of Gujarat most areas are specially named, and wonderful stories are told about their origin of those names. (Thus) Dandai (included) Pargana Kadi and its neighbourhood."

The places in the Dandāhī-pathaka lie partly in the modern Sidhpur, Visanagar and Mehsana mahāls; while those in the Viṣaya-pathaka like in the Kadi mahāl. But I believe that the river Khāri was the northernmost boundary of the Viṣaya-pathaka, its southern boundary probably being the Sābarmatī. Indrāvaḍa (Indrād) and Candāvasaṇa (Chadāsan), or perhaps Kalol stood on the southern frontiers. For the territory south of Kalol, extending as far as the Sābarmatī, constituted another unit, called the Cālisā-pathaka. We glean this fact from an inscription of Bhīma II, dated V.S. 1283. While governing Cālisā pathaka he granted the village of Natāiilī, to the north and west of which were situated Vadasara and Omkurāla grāmas, and to

¹ Jaina Pustaka Praśastisanigraha, Ed. by Sri Jinavijayji Muni, Singhi Jain Series, No. 18, (Bombay 1942), 110.

the south Avayāṇija and Cuyāmtija. Of these Vaḍasara is Vadsar in the Kalol mahāl. To its south lie Khatraj, Jeṭhalaj and Sāmtaj which evidently occupy the position of Avayānija and Cuyāmtija. The ending -ja of the old and the modern place-names suggest that these places are related to each other.

Calisa Pathaka

Cālisā, after which the pathaka was named is perhaps represented by Chalisan or Chalasan, now the northern-most village in the Kadi mahāl. If this identification turns out to be correct, then the Cālisā-pathaka comprised partly the present Kadi and Kalol mahāls.

Varddhi Pathaka

To the west and north-west of this pathaka was situated the Varddhi pathaka. From the identification of the places mentioned in four records, one of Jayantasinha dated v.s. 1280, two of Bhīma II, dated v.s. 1295 and 1296, and one of Vīsaladeva, dated v.s. 1317 this has proved to be the best worked out pathaka. Not only we know well its four boundaries, but practically all the places within it during the Caulukya period.

It is not necessary to mention all the places. It would suffice if I refer to some of the important places within it.

Its Capital

The capital or chief town of the Varddhi-pathaka from which a number of grants were made was Maṇḍalī. It is difficult to identify with certainty whether this Maṇḍalī represents Māṇḍal in the Viramgam tālukā, or Maṇḍalī of the Chansma mahāl. One record of Bhīma II cites one Maṇḍalī as a place situated to the west of Ghūsaḍi village in which were built the temples of Vīrameśvara and Sūmaleśvara. At this place now stands Māṇḍal. Topographically Māṇḍal seems to be the old capital, while in favour of Maṇḍalī of the Chanasma mahāl we have nothing but identity of name. The author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmadi (Supplement, p. 164), while giving details about the Pargana Viramgam, or Jhalawar says, "In former days the chief town was Māṇḍal, then the headquarters were removed to Viramgam." This would show Māṇḍal's identification with the Maṇḍalī of Caulukya

records is correct, and that even after the Caulukya period Mandalī had remained the chief town of the unit.

Old Name of Viramgam

Viramgam itself, the chief town of the $t\bar{a}luk\bar{a}$ of that name, and the frontier town on ancient Kathiawar-Gujarat junction, is a comparatively new place though the site it occupied is probably very old. Even during the Caulukya period the place was known as $Gh\bar{u}sadi$ $gr\bar{a}ma$. Even when $Bh\bar{u}ma$ built the temple of $V\bar{v}rame\dot{v}vara$ there, a S'iva temple named after $V\bar{v}rama$, the place was called by its old name. Subsequently however the old name was forgotten. Now we know it as Viramgam, evidently after the temple of $V\bar{v}rame\dot{v}vara$.

This Ghūsadi or Viramgam formed perhaps the southern outpost of the Varddhi-pathaka and stood on the royal highway to Kathiawar, as it does now. The inscription specifically says that the rājamārga lay to its east and south. All the places to its north—Bhojuyā, Kāliānā, Nānā-Ubhaḍā, Dheḍāsan for instance, are mentioned, the two latter are called Laghu-Ubhaḍā and Theḍhavasaṇa respectively. Leaving other places in the interior I would mention the places on its northern end. These were Sūrayaja, Sāmpavāḍā, Ādhivāḍā, Salakhaṇapura, Vahicara and Hāmsalaspura. All these are represented by Suraj, Sāmpavāḍa, Adhivāḍā, Sankhalpur, Behcharāji, and Hasalpur respectively:

The Varddhi-pathaka thus covered almost the half of the Chanasma mahāl and the Viramgam tālukā. The saṅgama of the Khāri, Rupen and Pusmavati constituted its northern end. The southern end included besides Viramgam, the villages of Līlāpura, Karīrā and Mālakatari. For at the first-mentioned place, Līlāpura, Līlādevī, a daughter of Samarasinha, and wife of Bhīma II had built the temples of Līleśvara and Bhīmeśvara, named evidently after herself and her husband. All these villages are situated to the south of Viramgam. Līlāpura has retained its original name, while the other two are called Karela and Malika respectively.

Gambhuta Pathaka

The north-eastern boundary of the Varddhi-pathaka is indicated by another unit, called $G\bar{a}mbhut\bar{a}$ -pathaka. In all 5 inscriptions mention these pathakas but only three inscriptions give details from which we can form an extent of the pathaka. An inscription of $M\bar{u}la$ -

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rāja II, dated v. s. 1193, so far the only record known of this king who succeeded Ajayapāla, is addressed to the officers of the Gambhutā pathaka. In the address the places Kārodā and Bāmbhanavādā are referred to. Villages bearing identical names still exist in the northeastern part of the Chanasma mahāl. Bhīma II's inscription of v.s. 1263 and of Jayantasimha mention the villages of S'esadevatā, Ghāri yāvali, Deülavādā, Dodiyā pātaka, Itilā, Kālhari, Phīmchadi and Vahicara. All these places, almost retaining their Caulukyan, 12th-13th century form, lie in and around the Khāri, Pusmāvatī and Rupen doab. Dodiāvāda, 12 miles s. w. of Gāmbhu, the chief town of the pathaka and Sesadevatīgrāma lay on the west s.w. frontier of the pathaka. We have seen that the village of Kālhari, and Vahicara were mentioned while defining the limits of a village granted in the Varddhi-pathaka. Were this all, the Gambhutā-pathaka would be very small indeed. For it would correspond to a little more than half of the Chanasma mahāl. But I believe that the villages of Sandera, Sūnaka, and Laghu-Dābhi, which lie in the s.e. and s.w. corners of the present Patan and Sidhpur mahāls were originally comprised within the Gambhutā pathaka, Sūnaka and Dābhi touching on the north-eastern border of the pathaka, beyond which were Uñihā and Arathaura of the Dandāhī-pathaka. How much due northwards the pathaka extended we cannot say. Perhaps the whole of the present Chanasma mahāl was definitely included in it. A few miles further north lay the capital of the mandala and empire-Anahila-pattana or -pātaka or -pura, modern Patan. Did it constitute a separate unit, like the present Delhi district, or was it included in the Gambhutā-pathaka? Gambhutā after which the pathaka is named is now called merely Gāmbhū. It lies on the left bank of the Pushmāvatī river. Another important place in this pathaka was Modhera or Mudhera. In the time of Mūlarāja I it was included in Varddhi-visaya. It was the home of the Brahmanas and Vanikas of that name. And here Karna 1 nad built the famous temple of the Sun, the finest piece of architecture in N. Gujarat. The ruins of this temple still exist.

Valauya Pathaka

The last pathaka that we know of, and probably the last pathaka in the Sārasvata-maṇḍala is the Vālauya-pathaka. Only one inscrip-

tion refers to this pathaka. Here in v. s. 1288 $Bh\bar{n}ma$ II granted a village, the name of which is lost; west of this village was $R\bar{a}n\bar{a}v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, now called $Ran\bar{a}v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, to north $Undir\bar{a}$ and $\bar{A}nganav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, the present Undara and $\bar{A}nganav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ respectively; to the east $S\bar{a}mpar\bar{a}$, and $Chhatrahar\bar{a}$, the present $S\bar{a}mpr\bar{a}$, and $Chhatrahar\bar{a}$ respectively. All these villages lie to the east-s.e. of the Banas and are included in the Patan $mah\bar{a}l$. They and the river might have formed the westernmost border of the pathaka. $V\bar{a}lauya$, the chief town of the pathaka, I identify with $B\bar{a}lav\bar{a}$, about 12 miles east of $Anganav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, and on the left bank of the small Bahi river. Though no further details are available, I believe that the $V\bar{a}lauya$ pathaka probably included most of the northern half of the present Patan and Sidhpur $mah\bar{a}ls$, and so included all the territory to the east of the $Dh\bar{a}nada-\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra-pathaka$.

We had started on our tour of reconstructing the $S\bar{a}rasvata$ -mandala and the sub-units within it with this pathaka. In arriving back to it we have gone over all the territory lying between the latitudes 23° and 24°, to the west of the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{\imath}$ river.

It is perhaps significant that no Caulukya inscription has so far mentioned a place east of the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$ river. It not only suggests that the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$ formed the eastern frontier of the $S\bar{a}rasvata-mandala$ but that the country to the east of the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$, though at times within the empire, was always a bone of contention between the Caulukyas and rulers of Malwa.

Even for a fuller knowledge of the $S\bar{a}rasvata-maṇdala$ we should have names of places and the name of the pathaka which lay within what is now called the $Kher\bar{a}lu$ and $Vij\bar{a}pur$ $mah\bar{a}ls$. So far the place nearest to the $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$ known from Caulukya inscriptions is $L\bar{a}\dot{n}-gaṇaijya$ or Langhnaj, the scene of the recent unique pre-historic finds in India.

Save for this, our knowledge of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* is complete. I have already sketched its geographical limits. Politically it comprised the Mehsana Prant, (minus the Dehgam tālukā) of the Baroda State, parts of *Pālanpur* and *Rādhanpur* States and the Viramgam tālukā. The Mehsana *Prānt* is divided into, beginning from the north, I. Sidhpur, 2. Kheralu, 3. *Vijāpur*, 4. Visnagar, 5. Mehsana 6. *Kaḍi*, 7. Kalol, 8. *Chānsma*, 9. Patan, 10. Harij and 11. Dehagam mahāls. The last, Dehagam is really an appendage, not forming a homogeneous

whole with the other trans- $S\bar{a}barmat\bar{i}$ group of $mah\bar{a}ls$. Now just consider the number of pathakas which constitute the $S\bar{a}rasvata-mandala$ and its modern equivalents.

- 1. Dhāanda Pathaka = Southern part of Palanpur State.
- 2. Danādāhī Pathaka = Parts of Sidhpur, Visnagar and Mehsana, and perhaps Kheralu mahāls.
- 3. Visaya Pathaka = Parts of Mehsana and Kadi mahāls.
- 4. Cālisā Pathaka = Parts of Kadi and Kalol mahāls.
- 5. Varddhi Pathaka = Viramgam tālukā and parts of Chansma mahāl and perhaps of Harij.
- 6. Gambhutā Pathaka = Parts of Chansma, Patan, and Sidhpur mahāls.
- 7. Vālauya Pathaka Parts of Harij, Patan and Sidhpur mahāls. We shall have at least one more pathaka when details of place-names in the Vijāpur and Kherālu mahāls come forth.

Sarasvata Mandala and Mehsana Prant

The correspondence between the size of the largest territorial unit and its sub-divisions into mahāls, in Northern Gujarat, of the Gai-kwads of Baroda and the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka is pretty close. If the former have inherited the territory of the latter, have they also unconsciously inherited their administration system? No less than 5 centuries separate the two rulers. So direct borrowing is to be definitely ruled out. But tradition, as modified by centuries of Muslim rule and administrative experiments, might have guided the framers of the Baroda administrative system.

In the time of Sultans of Gujarat the province of Gujarat consisted of 25 sarkārs. Akbar redistributed them into 16 sarkārs. Of these Pattana sarkār had 17 sub-divisions or parganas. We have actually no idea how the Gujarat Sultans had divided their province of Gujarat. But since Akbar followed the existing system, only regrouping the territory, it seems that he recognized the necessity of dividing the entire territory into sub-units.

But we have seen that this territory, at least from the 11th century, was divided into no less than 8 sub-divisions for administrative and perhaps fiscal purposes. Hence the Sultans could be said to follow the tradition current before them. If they had more sub-divisions it was because they were foreigners and for better control preferred smaller

sub-divisions. Akbar borrowed it from them when he conquered Gujarat and handed it down to the Marathas and the English.

Caulukyan Government

Reconstruction of the Caulukya empire and one of its large units, the Sārasvata-maṇḍala, shows the method of Caulukyan government. For better government the empire had to be divided into provinces and the provinces into sub-divisions. A comparison between the number and size of Caulukyan provinces and sub-divisions and those of the British, Gaikwad and Mughal provinces and sub-divisions has shown that the Caulukyan divisions were neither too small nor too large, considering their times when transport was much slower than today. In fact our comparison has shown a close correspondence in size between the size of the Gaikwadi mahāls and Caulukyan pathakas, and the size of the British districts and Caulukyan maṇḍalas.

Not only in the division of their empire, but also in the actual government of its various parts the Caulukyas exhibited a high administrative insight.

With the king was a minister called *Mahāmātya*, Saciva or Mantri. The names of several of these we know from Caulukya records. They were selected irrespective of their caste or creed. Thus a *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* or a *Vaiśya* whether he be Hindu or Jaina could hold the appointment, though at times when the king was a bigot, partiality to a particular creed resulted, and proved ability was set aside.

The governor of a maṇḍala was usually called a Maṇḍaleśvara or Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. In normal times a civilian was selected for this post. But when the province was newly conquered or lay on the frontier which must have been turbulent and its possession precarious a Daṇḍā-dhipati, literally a commander of the forces, was appointed to such provinces. Thus under Bhīma I, Vimala, a Daṇḍādhipati was in charge of Arbuda (Mt. Abu) region, and during the reign of Jayasiniha, Vāpanadeva held the governorship of Dadhipadrā-maṇḍala.

What is remarkable is the existence of practices one thousand years ago exactly recalling modern practices. As we all know the British used to appoint an army chief to what are known as non-Regulation provinces. The North-West Frontier province has only recently got a semi-democratic constitution, and India herself, due to exigencies of

time, put under an ex-Commander-in-chief. Similar needs give birth to similar results.

Each viṣaya or pathaka was placed under a separate chief who was directly responsible to its immediate superior. We are thus told that in the reign of Vīsaladeva, the chief of Varddhi-pathaka, viz., Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Sāmantasimha was subordinate to Amātya Nāgaḍa; whereas the chief of Vāmanasthali, Mahattara Sobhanadeva, was responsible in the first instance to Somarāja, the Mahāmaṇḍale-śvara of Surāṣtra.

Territorial Units and Geographical Boundaries

What was the relation between purely geographical boundaries, such as rivers, hills, forests and territorial units? Gujarat being purely an alluvial country, there are very few hills and forests, regions which would either bar territorial expansion or which could be regarded as effective land frontiers. Consequently we do not come across a unit named after a hill or forest. But there are a number of small and big rivers in both Northern and Central Gujarat. The doabs formed by these rivers made a territorial unit. Some of these are expressly mentioned, e. g., the Antaramandali, i. e. the Purna-Mindhola doab, Antara-Narmadā, probably the Tapi (Tapti)-Narmada doab. Besides the larger rivers of Central and Southern Gujarat, it appears that the smaller rivers in northern Gujarat, the Khāri, the Rupen and the Pushmavatī, as the discussion of the size of the pathakas in the Sārasvata-maṇdala shows, must have been used for fixing the size of the pathakas, whereas the Banās and Sābarmatī formed the western and eastern frontiers of the territory on either side of the Sarasvati, and hence it was named after the river as Sārasvata-maṇdala. Another such unit was the Narmadātata-maņdala.

Distribution of Population

One small but important point also comes out from the identification of the place-names in Caulukya Gujarat. This is the distribution of the population. We cannot have an idea of the number of people then inhabiting the province, for no census records, if there were any, have come down to us. But plotting the various villages on a map, together with the small and big roads, indicates that the villages were

spread over Gujarat exactly in the same position as they are now. Very few new villages seem to have sprung up between the old villages. Rather we find some deserted sites of old villages. This might have been due to migration to urban areas. Any way our inquiry shows that during the Caulukyan times Northern Gujarat was populated in an identical manner as today, which seems to be neither too thick as in Central Gujarat or too sparse as in Cutch.

Rainfall in Caulukyan Times

From the spread and distribution of the villages and population we may reasonably infer the climate, particularly rainfall, during the Caulukyan times. If the land supported as many villages as today, the quantity of rain (and the wells) which irrigated it could not have been, at least, much less than at present, but probably slightly more. A consideration of the weather reports of the last 50 years seems to favour the view that rainfall has not decreased in Gujarat, though popular view is that Northern Gujarat is slowly being desiccated. The evidence of historical geography, here pointed out, may be valued for what it is worth.

Lecture III

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

In the first lecture I indicated briefly that both personal names and place-names are connotative and hence have cultural significance. This significance is revealed by a classification of both the types names.

A classification of various types of places in the first instance reveals the origin of names of places.¹

Classification of Place-names

People in Bombay need not be told how this is done. The process is daily taking place before them. What once was Girgaon Back Road is now called Vithalbhai Patel Road and the Esplanade Road is Mahatma Gandhi Road. Thus a collection and classification of present Bombay street names and the names which prevailed 50 or 100 years ago, would show how Bombay, a small village, consisting of various fishing and other communities gradually came to be inhabited by other people, trades and professions; how its various natural features, back-waters, ponds, mango-groves and onion plantations gave place to new, artificial environments, resulting from industrialization and growth of trade and business; how a village of fishermen lost its independence to the Westerners, and eulogised and immortalised its new masters by naming roads and places after them, how and when the national renaissance took place and expressed itself by renaming the places after events and persons.2 In short what a kaleidoscopic view of Bombay's history would its street names reveal!! Perhaps we are too near its past to make such an attempt, for Bombay is hardly 300 years old.

¹ Dr. Agrawala also after his study of the geographical data in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* says, "The Analysis which *Pāṇini* gives of the underlying meanings which relate placenames to human society, shows conclusively that place-names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a community is intimately connected. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country therefore introduces us to many a forgotten chapter of history and ethnography." *JUPHS*, XVI. ii.

² Shephard, Bombay (Times of India Press).

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

The names so gathered may fall into the following groups:

- I. (i) Place-names after a person—hero, saint, tribal leader.
 - (ii) -do- -do- a deity.
 - (iii) -do- -do- a spirit.
 - (iv) -do- -do- tribes or peoples.
- II. (i) Place-names after an event—auspicious occasion, bad occasion.
- III. Place-names after customs and superstitions.
- IV. Place-names after geographical and physical features:
 - (i) Place-names after hills, mountains, mounds or any elevated place.
 - (ii) -do- rivers, streams, lakes and ponds.
 - (iii) -do- forests, deserts, steppes etc.
 - V. Place-names after flowers, fruits, trees and crops.
- VI. Place-names after animals, birds and reptiles.
 - (i) Animals.
 - (ii) Birds.
 - (iii) Reptiles.
- VII. Place-names after names of existing places.¹

Just imagine what a picture of the past and present culture of a region would be available, could we but classify its place-names in as many groups as mentioned above. Its main political, social, physical, economical and zoological and botanical life would spring before us.

Thus the study of place-names involves three processes. We may first try to fix the significance of place-names by analysing their name-contents, then group them according to their suffixes, and finally arrive at their full significance by a synthesis of the above results. Plotting these out on a map of the region we may glean how the place-name pattern has or has not (?) been affected by the culture of the region.

- ¹ Dr. Chatterji would suggest the following classification:—
 - (i) Place-names from tribes or castes living there originally.
 - (ii) Place-names from names of natural features.
- (iii) Do a religious character.
- (iv) Do after names of persons or events.
- (v) Do copied from other place-names.

But for the sake of convenience I have preserved the classification first made by me.

Suffixes of Inscriptional Place-names

I propose first to classify the suffixes of all the inscriptional place-names—from 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D. Then take up the classification of the suffixes of modern place-names in Northern Gujarat which have been gathered so far from the Baroda divisions in Gujarat and Kathiawar. A comparison of the identifiable place-names from the former group with the latter group will explain the origin and the transformation the latter has undergone through the centuries and also lead to the understanding of similar modern place-names. Then will follow the attempt to fix the significance of place-names old and new, which ultimately, I hope, will give an insight into the pattern of place-names in Northern Gujarat.

I would proceed chronologically, dynasty by dynasty following as far as possible a geographical order, mentioning the number and types or classes of places.

Names of Countries

The Aśokan edicts at Girnar contain no place-names. Out of the 12 Kṣatrapa inscriptions, the famous inscription of Rudradāman mentions a number of countries, including Surāṣṭra, Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Ānartṭa, Aparānta, besides Girinagara, the mountain Ūrjayat, and the river Suvarṇasikātā. These places, particularly countries, have been identified before with a view to understand the political history of the Kṣatrapa and pre-Kṣatrapa period. Since my object is the interpretation of names themselves I would confine myself to pointing out their cultural significance.

Anūpa is evidently a name after a geographical feature, a fitting name for the coastal sea-board: anūpa meaning "near the water;" Aparānta, the western country, after its position on the Indian continent.

I am tempted to think that the name "Kaccha" is also of this type. One of the meanings of Kaccha is bank or shore, or any ground bordering on water. If this implies the land which has come up from the

¹ It is mentioned by $P\bar{a}nini$ (IV. 2. 133), and "refers to the towns also ending in Kaccha (IV. 2. 126). These were situated mostly along the coast. The inhabitants were known as $K\bar{a}cchaka$, and reference to their manner of laugh and talk is found in the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ illustrating their personal peculiarities or mannerisms." AGRAWALA, op. cit. p. 31.

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sea-bed, then the recent geological history of Cutch bears witness to that land having undergone such uplifts and depressions.

We have the word *kaccha* in Maru-kaccha and Bharu-kaccha. Geologically the Rajputana desert is the remains of an inland sea. So in this case too the name seems to be due to the geographical features of the land, *maru* meaning desert, arid, sandy land; *kaccha*, "that which has come up from the sea".

The land strip on the Western coast, where Bharu-kaccha or Broach is situated belongs geologically to the Tertiary period, and is comparatively of recent times, a result possibly of the retreat of the Arabian Sea.

This geological phenomenon fits in very well with the tradition that Konkan sea-board once formed part of the sea, and was recovered by Paraśurāma, a Bhārgava. But it appears that this attribution of the result to a Bhṛgu is of a later date. Originally, at least from the 1st century to the 8th century the place was called 'Bharukaccha', as the inscriptions of the Kṣaharātas, Kṣatrapas, Gurjjaras, Kaṭaccūris, Maitrakas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas record and are testified to by the Mahābhārata, Mahāmayūri, Divyāvadāna, and early Jaina literature. And this was in accordance with the purely geographical features of the land; while the word bharu itself, according to PRZYLUSKI, (as pointed out by Dr. KATRE), has Austro-Asiatic features. In this connection it is worth noting the tradition in Divyāvadāna, a Buddhist work of about the 5th-6th century, cited by Dr. AGRAWALA. According to this, Bhirukaccha was founded by one Bhiruka, after the ruin of the city of Raunika. The S'udras are thus credited with the establishment of this place.

According to the *Mahābhārata* the residents of Bharukacca³ brought presents of *Gāndhāra* horses to *Yudhiṣṭhira* at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.

However, the word came to be completely sanskritized as is shown by an 8th century $C\bar{a}ham\bar{a}na$ inscription (and $Pur\bar{a}nas$) which calls it $Bhrgukaccha.^4$ Compare also Ankuleśvara (modern Ankleshwar) in

^{1 &}quot;Emprunts Anaryens en Indo-Aryen" Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique (30, 1929), 197. The Jātakas, Vol. II (Text, FAUSBOLL p. 171) mention one Bharuraṭṭha. 2 JUPHS, XV. 33.

^a It is be noted that none of the readings (MBH. Sabhā Parvan, Ed. by EDGERTON, Poona, 1944, II.47.8) mentions Bhṛgukaccha.

⁴ EI, XII. 197.

early Gurjjara records, which was later sanskritized into Akrureśvara. The modern name is derived from the former. Whatever view is taken, there seems to be little doubt that Kaccha, and Maru, and Bharukaccha owe their names to geographical features of the land, and that the modern name 'Bharoch' is derived from Bharukaccha.

Surāṣṭra might have been applied to the country in S.W. Kathiawar, because of the natural fertility of the land. Even now Soraṭh, as it is called in the vernacular, is famous for its rich crops of all kinds, and splendid cattle.

Does Sauvīra suggest a country of good warriers? Sind and the adjacent country to the north and north-west are still noted for their ferocious, bold, martial races.

Sindhu is after the famous Sindhu, and the territory till now retains this name. Thus all the place-names are after rivers and other physiographical features of the land.

All the names above discussed are of the descriptive type, and as the features described still form a prominent part of the land described, I venture to suggest that the explanations are not purely fanciful.

Anartta is supposed to stand for Northern Gujarat, including part of Kathiawad. Its cultural significance lies in this that it seems to corroborate the *Purāṇic* account, according to which the country came to be called 'Ānartta' after the son of S'aryāta and Sukanyā, the former a very ancient Āryan tribe mentioned in the Rgveda. It further illustrates that the country had been Aryanized at least some centuries ago and known by its Aryan name, so as to be recorded in a 2nd century inscription by that name.

Most of these names are known from the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, so a long tradition is behind them, and the inscription proves that it is at least 2000 years old.

The countries of South India are not mentioned by name, but the whole country south of the Vindhyas is called *Dakṣiṇāpatha*—a descriptive and a directional name.

The remaining three names—Girinagara, $\bar{U}rjayat$, and $Suvarṇasikat\bar{a}$ —are also of this nature. What is now $fun\bar{a}gadh$ was, before the 13th century, called Girinagara, a city on or at the foot of a hill. This hill was called $\bar{U}rjayat$. Now we call the hill Girnar (a) and the town $fun\bar{a}$ -

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gadh. Thus we have transferred the name of the town to the hill, whereas the town is called by the 13th century name of the fort, viz. Jīrṇa-durga. But the old names were more appropriate. Girnar is certainly a misfit.

The river which flows from the hill was called *Suvarṇasikatā*. Its present name is *Sonrekhā*, thus the first part of the river's name has remained unchanged for 20 centuries¹. The river was so named, because its sand contains particles of gold.² Here then we have an instance of a place (river) name after its characteristic attribute.

So far I was dealing with names of countries, towns, rivers, and hills from *Kṣatrapa* inscriptions. Village names are very few. In fact, only one is known. It is *Rasopadra-grāma*. I shall not comment on it at present, but shall take it up along with other village names from subsequent records.

The one Gupta inscription mentions no other place names, besides $Sur\bar{a}stra$, the river $Pal\bar{a}sin\bar{i}$, and the hills Raivataka and $\bar{U}rjayata$.

The name Raivataka is important as it tells us that one of the two hills which now form the Girnar range was known by this name, a name which is met with in the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and Jaina literature. It is supposed to be after king Revata.

Names of Villages

Of the six place names from $Traik\bar{u}$ taka records $Apar\bar{a}nta$ is already discussed; partly also $Antaramandal\bar{\imath}$. $Amraka-(gr\bar{a}ma?)$ must have been named after a mango-grove. Kaniyas- $Tad\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ -sarik \bar{a} seems to be after a small pond.

Padra

Barring the names of countries, the earliest village name we get is in a K-satrapa inscription, which mentions Raso-padra- $gr\bar{a}ma$. It is strange that it should be necessary to add the word $gr\bar{a}ma$, for we are told that the suffix padra, which is derived from $\sqrt{-pad(?)}$, itself means

¹ The second part seems to have been replaced by a new one. The exact derivative as suggested by Dr. Chatterji should be a form like* Sonasītā or * Sonasī.

² Mirat-I-Ahmadi, Supplement, 205, takes note of this river. It says, "Gold is deposited in its bed, but there is not enough to make its working profitable."

a village, or a place of habitation, besides a road in a village, the earth, or a name of a district.¹

And this is not a solitary instance. The suffix -padra occurs together with grāma in all the later inscriptions—Traikūṭaka, Kaṭaccūri, Gurj-jara, Cāhamāna, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and Caulukyas of Lāṭa, Maitrakas of Valabhī and Solankis (Caulukyas). Thus not only the suffix but the practice of appending grāma to padra is at least 2000 years old. For the term padra did not merely, or no longer, connote a village; it had become a part of the village name, the suffix padra indicating, when compounded with the name proper, a place of habitation in, around, or on a road leading to a village.

Vadra

Along with the suffix padra, we have to consider an almost identical suffix -vadra. It first occurs in two place-names from Gurjjara records, then occasionally in $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ and Caulukya (Solanki) records. It is remarkable that so far no instance of this suffix is found in $Valabh\bar{u}$ records, though there are at least 18 instances of the padra suffix. For it has been presumed that modern place-names in Kathiawad with the suffix vadar are derived from vadra > vaddra > vaddara (-padra-) -vadra. I shall discuss this question later. For the present it is worth consideration whether the suffix vadra means the same as padra, and if so, whether they are interchangable.

Vadra in fact is no word. Either owing to the similarity of the letters va and pa, from about the 5th century onwards, or to the actual wrong engraving, pa came to be written as va. In some cases the epigraphist might have wrongly read it. But there is no doubt that in the majority of cases padra was written as vadra; or else we would not have many names in -vadra, particularly in Kathiawad. Hence both padra and vadra have an identical connotation. "Linguistically speaking," says Dr. KATRE, "padra-, written and pronounced as -paddra-paddara3, paddara must have changed to -vaddara-, -p > -v-

¹ Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, (1899). 585.

²"Padra > padda > 7 adda + padra=vadra > vaddara > vadar doubtful, unless the form is a medieval (early NIA.) Sanskrit form". S. K. C.

The spelling vadra would seem to be a blend of a prakrit vadda and the sanskrit pcara. S.K.C.

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normally in the intervocalic position."

Palli

The suffix -pallī or -pallīkā is met with for the first time in a $Trai-k\bar{u}taka$ record, then once in a Gurjjara, four times in the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$, twelve times in Maitraka and only thrice in Caulukya (Solanki) records.

Pallī or its diminutive pallīkā is derived from \sqrt{pal} meaning to go, to move etc. There seems to be no reference to it in very early Sanskrit literature, but later it had come to mean a very small village, a village of wandering herdsmen $(\bar{a}bh\bar{i}ra-pall\bar{i})$; of wild tribes; den of thieves, or a house of $C\bar{a}nd\bar{a}la$. It is used in the last but one sense in the $Uttar\bar{a}dhyanas\bar{u}tra$ and other Jaina canonical texts, the earliest portions of which are assigned to about 300 B.C. The underlying idea in literature is thus of insignificance and unrespectability.

In the inscriptions it does not seem to have been used in this sense. In the first place, the words preceding $-pall\bar{\imath}$ show that besides cora, $c\bar{a}nd\bar{a}la$, and $\bar{a}bh\bar{\imath}ra$, other things could also form a $pall\bar{\imath}$. Secondly the addition of $gr\bar{a}ma$ to $pall\bar{\imath}$ implies that the place had already outgrown a small, tiny settlement, and $pall\bar{\imath}$ formed part of the name itself.

Thus the lexicographers appear to confine themselves to the early Jaina literary usage, whereas in practice the thing had undergone a change. This but illustrates the adage that law always lags behind usage.

Vali, Valli and Vallika

Just as we have to consider suffixes -padra and -vadra together, similarly after -pall $\bar{\imath}$ comes the suffix - val $\bar{\imath}$, - valli or - vallik \bar{a} . Both these occur for the first time in Gurjjara records, once as -val $\bar{\imath}$, and the second time as -vallik \bar{a} , and then about eleven times in the $R\bar{a}$ -trak \bar{u} ta, while so far there is not a single instance from V alabh $\bar{\imath}$ records. In Caulukya (Solanki) records, in its pure form the suffix - val $\bar{\imath}$ occurs

¹ English or European dictionaries usually cite lexicographers, which are late.

² Boehtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, IV, 595. Monier-Williams, 610.

³ Illustrated Ardhamagadhi Dictionary (IAD) III, 528: Abhidhānrājenāra, V. 729.

⁴ WINTERNITZ, History of Indian Literature, II, 434.

only thrice, but it might be lurking in other - li endings such as Dhaüli Kisaraili and others.

Vallī by itself does not signify a village or an abode or settlement. In one sense it means a creeping, and a class of medicinal, plant; in the other, a very restricted sense, a section of a particular Upanishad, Kaṭha Upaniṣad.¹ None of these meanings could be directly applicable to place-names. But it appears that the meaning of valli as 'earth'² came to be combined, purposely but very likely unconsciously, with valli meaning section, or 'part' and the word came to mean a section of the earth, a habitation, etc. This in course of time became part of the name itself, and so the inscriptions further affixed the word grāma to show its size.

Sthali

Partly similar is the suffix -sthalī. It is exclusively found several times in Valabhī records, but not once in records of the dynasties which ruled over coastal Gujarat. But I think its less pure form we can see only once in Dahithali of a Gujjrara record. It is mentioned in Caulukya (Solanki) records, and this instance comes from Kāthiawar. Its slightly different form once occurs in Mūndasthala, whereas an allied suffix -sthāna is applied once after - pura, in Prasannapurasthāna, and once to Navamsaka.

Sthalī has been used as the first member of a compound word where it would connote a fixed or localized thing e.g. $sthalīdevat\bar{a}$. When followed by $bh\bar{u}$ it applied to a land which has become dry. Hence $sthal\bar{\iota}$ by itself suggests a high-lying country, an eminance, table-land, or dry land as opposed to a damp, low land.

The Mahābhārata, Harivamśa, early Jaina and Pāli literature use the word in these senses.³ Thus sthalī does not directly mean a habitation, but a place fit for habitation, being dry etc. Do the Maitraka inscriptions use it in this sense, handing us down the earlier usages, because most of Kathiawar was once, not very long ago geologically, under the sea; then gradually some parts came up and became dry, or

Monier-Williams, 929.

² Ihid.

Monier-Williams, 1261-2; Boethlingk and Roth, 1282; Abhidhāna, IV, 2386. Childfes, 502.

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because the land is very uneven, and few places habitable, which are designated as *sthalīs*?

The Mahābhārata mentions both Kuśasthala as well as -sthalī. The latter is supposed to be another name of Dwarka.

There might be some geological or physiographical significance behind the use of *sthala* or *sthalī*, which is confined to Kathiawar, or it might simply mean a place, dry and elevated in its primary sense, but later meaning place only. Qualified by the name proper, Kuśa, $V\bar{a}mana$ etc. it would denote a particular place. It remains to be investigated, if this latter interpretation is correct, viz. whether *sthalī* was affixed to personal names only, or to names of objects etc.

Hrada

Another old suffix is -hrada, meaning a large or deep piece of water, lake or pool. The earliest reference to a place-name with this suffix is in a Kaṭaccūri record. Subsequent occurrences of names with these suffixes are very few, but do appear, once in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, twice in Maitraka and once in a Caulukya (Solaṅki) record. It is remarkable that one of the place-names in all the three later records is identical viz. Kāṣahraḍa, identified with Kāsundra, 25 miles south of Ahmadabad.

Already in a $R\bar{a}$ strak \bar{u} ta inscription instead of the suffix - hrada we find $K\bar{a}$ sa $^{\circ}$ compounded with -draha. This may imply that these two suffixes mean more or less the same thing and are interchangeable.

Draha

There is one instance of a place-name with -draha suffix in a Valabhi record and one in a Caulukya (Solanki) record. These are respectively Vaṭa-draha and Go-drahaka. In each of these cases the meaning of the suffix can be more easily ascertained by a reference to the first name or names proper. In both cases it would mean that the lake or the tree near the lake, or the reeds $k\bar{a}$ growing in the lake formed a prominent landmark, and the place was named after this.

¹ Monier-Williams, 1307. According to Dr Chatterji these suffixes—hrada>draha—are very common in Bengal.

² Cf. Ibid. 501. "draha = hrada."

Sara

Equally old as -hrada and having a similar significance is the suffix -sara meaning a lake or a pond. Omitting a doubtful reference in a Traikūṭaka record, we have first Jambu-sara in a Gurjjara record. Many of us are familiar with this name. It is no other than our Jambu-sar, near Dakor in Kaira District. For nearly 1500 years the name has come down to us in an absolutely unchanged state.

This and other place-names in -sara regularly appear through the $R\bar{a}$ strak \bar{u} ta, Maitraka and Caulukya times. Of course the instances are not many, the largest number so far gathered from Caulukya records is 7 and about 3 or 4 from the earlier records. As in -hrada, a lake and its surroundings determined the place-name.

Pataka

The suffix $-p\bar{a}taka$ first occurs only once in a Gurjjara record, then once in a $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ record, about six times in Maitraka, and therein once as Kataka (Amalakataka)¹ and only thrice in Caulukya (Solanki) records.

What does pāṭaka mean? It is said to signify "the half or any part or a kind of village, or a shore or a bank." Early Jaina literature makes the sense more explicit. There pāḍaga signifies a habitation within a village. Originally then pāṭaka, pāḍaga, pāḍā might have denoted a large, but private house, or settlement within a village. Gradually the village came to be called after it and sometimes the city also as the following names show: Aṇahila-pāṭaka or -(vāṭaka), -nagara, -pura, -Aṇahilapura. Generally, the word or name preceding or qualifying -pāṭaka would be that of a person or group of people or tribe (?). If this can be ascertained, the names in -pāṭaka would yield valuable information on various settlements, or "colonisations".

Vataka

Analogous to the suffix -pāṭaka is - vāṭaka. Three clear instances of it occur in Maitraka records, and once as -vāṭikā and once as -vaṭa,

GADRE, Imp. Inscriptions from the Baroda State, 20.

Monier-Williams, 614-15; Boethlingk and Roth, IV, 630. Abhidhāna, V, 823.

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but no instances of it are so far noticed in other early or contemporary records of Gujarat. In the Caulukya records, the famous *Aṇahilapura*, or *-pāṭaka* appears once as *Aṇahila-vāṭaka*.

 $V\bar{a}ta$, $v\bar{a}taka$, $v\bar{a}ti$, $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ all from $v\bar{v}t$, have always connoted in Sanskrit, $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ and $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ and $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ literature a temporarily enclosed place, such as a garden, plantation, or an enclosure of a (low caste) village consisting of boundary trees. The exact nature of the enclosure is suggested by the word prefixed to it. Thus we have $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}t\bar{a}$, $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}t\bar{a}$,

There is a solitary instance of a place-name ending in the analogous suffix - $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ in a Maitraka record. It is called Pahma - (Padma) $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$. It is proposed to be identified with $Bangav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$.

This is to be distinguished from names ending in - vat and - mat implying possession. There are only four of this kind, viz., Candrāvatī, Darbhāvatī, Dadhimatī and Dvārāvātī—all occurring in Caulukya inscriptions.

Ijya or Ijja

Another group of place-names ends in -ijya or -ijja. Excepting the one or two instances in $Kaṭacc\bar{u}ri$, Gurjjara, and $R\bar{a}ṣṭrak\bar{u}ṭa$ records, we get a number of definite instances of place-names with these suffixes in Maitraka and Caulukya inscriptions. By a consideration of all the names and suffixes we have to fix the shades of meaning connoted by -ijya and other similar forms.

From these I pass on to suffixes which are found only in Caulukya (Solanki) inscriptions but not in inscriptions of the earlier period. Why these are not found in earlier records may be explained by saying that very few records pertaining to Northern Gujarat, the region to which the Caulukya records belong, have been found. Hence we have

¹ BOETHLINGK and ROTH, VI, 901; MONIER-WILLIAMS, 939.

² Abindhāna, VI, 1066 and see Illustrated A. M.D., IV, 368, V. 534 and 832.

³ CHILDERS, 555.

⁴ BGETHLINGK and ROTH, VI, 901.

⁵ According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

no earlier place-names with these suffixes. Though this is true, the fact remains that place-names with these suffixes were confined to or predominated in Northern Gujarat.

Vasana

The first of these suffixes is-vasana. A perfectly Sanskrit word meaning dwelling, abiding, sojourn, and when forming first part of a compound name, it means "residence in....."

An early Sanskrit gloss on an earlier Ardhamāgadhī Jaina canonical Sūtra text gives the same meaning for vasaņa.²

Though thus the meaning of the suffix is certain, none of the Sanskrit³ or Prakrit lexicons give an example, where the word is used as a second part of the compound, in the way it is used in Caulukya inscriptions. Nor can I cite such an example from literature. With regard to inscriptions, as far as my knowledge goes, place-names with this suffix do not occur in Gupta or Gurjjara- $Pratih\bar{a}ra$, and $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ inscriptions. I am doubtful if it will be found in inscriptions of other dynasties and other parts of India. Of course nothing definite can be said unless all the inscriptions are examined.

Though there are only seven Caulukya inscriptional references to place-names with this suffix there is a very large number of such names in Northern Gujarat, which suggests that these formed a special feature of the place-name pattern of this part of India. And it will be interesting to find out what light they throw on the question of colonization and culture of Northern Gujarat when discussed together with the first part of the name.

Vasahika, Vasaka

Derived from the same source, viz. \sqrt{vas} is the suffix - $vasahik\bar{a}$, of which a solitary illustration is found in a $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ record. $K\bar{a}ra\bar{n}javasahik\bar{a}$ might have meant a dwelling, or a colony in or around or under Karanja tree ($Pongamia\ Glabra$).

¹ Monier-Williams, 932.

² Abhidhāna, VI, 934 and Illustrated A. M. D. V, 533.

Except the one instance from the *Mahābhārata*, V. 1680 of *Aranya*-vasana. Boeth-Lingk and Roth, VI, 839.

Bearing affinity to -vasaṇa, and $-vasahik\bar{a}$ are the suffixes $-v\bar{a}saka$ and $-v\bar{a}sa$. The former is found in *Mohaḍa-vāsaka*. Of the latter no epigraphical instances are so far found, but as I will show later, a number of modern place-names bear the suffix $-v\bar{a}sa$.

Vada

The second exclusively Caulukyan suffix is $-v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$. The word is not Sanskrit, but is derived from $v\bar{a}ta - vatta - Sk$. vartta - round or $v\bar{a}ta$ or $v\bar{a}taka$, or even $p\bar{a}taka$. The $Ardham\bar{a}gadh\bar{n}$ $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is equated with the Sanskrit $v\bar{a}ta$, and also stands for $p\bar{a}taka$. It seems strange that the former should have no word like $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, or $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}^1$

All these words, however, originally meant some kind of temporary enclosure like $v\bar{a}taka$, $v\bar{a}ta$ or $v\bar{a}tika$. Nowadays this sense is conveyed by $v\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ only, though in cities like Bombay and Poona " $v\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ " has come to be associated with a built-up area either with or without an enclosure, belonging to a private citizen, as $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ has been in $Mah\bar{a}$ - $r\bar{a}shtra$ for the last 300 years or more. In Gujarat the original Ardha- $m\bar{a}gadh\bar{i}$ or Prakrit word $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is used. Thus we have $Sanghvip\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ and other $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}s$ in Patan. Most probably this has been in use from very early times, 2 associated either with a private, but perhaps prominent villager, or other land-feature, which in course of time usurped the name of the village. That $v\bar{a}taka$ has some connection with $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ or in some parts of Gujarat, the latter was directly derived from the former, is shown by a Gurijara place $Sunthav\bar{a}daka$, 3 which is identified with $Sunthv\bar{a}d$.

Thus $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ or $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, derived from $v\bar{a}taka$ or $p\bar{a}taka$ or from both, stood for the original word itself, for a private settlement characterised either by a personal name or a prominent physiographical feature.

Vada

The suffix $-v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is different from the suffix -vada, though the engraver of an epigraph or even a mistake in transcription might make

- 1 Abhidhānarājendra, V, 1066. cf. pāṭaketi samjñā prasiddhā.
- ² In early Jaina literature the word $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ is used in the sense of a suburb of a large town. Thus $N\bar{a}land\bar{a}$ - $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ of $R\bar{a}jagv\bar{a}ha$.
- ³ IA, 13.76. Of course the difference might be due to the writing or reading of the aksara ta.

these two suffixes look similar. The latter - vaḍa comes from vaṭa, meaning a baniyan or Indian Fig tree. The earliest instance, a solitary one, is Kumāri-vaḍao given by an early sixth century Kaṭaccuri plate. Later it is found but once in a Caulukya record as Indrāvaḍa.

Besides these there are a few place-names ending in -na, -na, or $n\bar{a}$, in -da or -di, in $-y\bar{a}$ and -ka. Whereas in some cases, for instance names in -ka, might be diminutives it is difficult to ascertain in other cases, whether these are remnants of suffixes or form part of the word itself. All these place-names will have to be dealt with individually, along with their modern equivalents.

Pura, Puri and Nagara

We must also take note of the suffixes pura, purī, nagara and paṭṭana. The first three denote a town or a city, the last a sea or river port.

Very few instances of place-names with these suffixes are found in ancient Gujarat. The earliest is - nagara found in Girinagara of the Kṣatrapa records. Pura and - purī are found respectively in Traikūṭaka and Kaṭaccūri records and in Gurjjara and Caulukya records.

Paṭṭana occurs only four times, twice in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, once in the Maitraka, and once in a Caulukya record.

The suffix - durga occurs late in the 13th century. Thus the present Junūgadh is called Jīrṇadurga.

Siddhi, Sadhi

Suffixes siddhi and sāḍhi occur once only, both losing the final vowel in modern Gujarāti. Thus Borsad in Kaira District comes from Badarasiddhi mentioned in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record and Amalsād in Navasari District or Prānt from Āmvalasāḍhi of a Caulukya record.

Thus the following suffixes are found among Gujarat place-names:—
padra, vadra, pallī, pallīka, valli, vallikā, sthalī, sthāna, draha,
hrada, sara, pāṭaka, vāṭaka, vāṭikā, vāḍaka, ijya or ijja, vasaṇa,
vasahikā, vāḍā,and vāḍa, pura, puri, nagara, paṭṭana, durga, siddhi, and
sāḍhī.

From their meanings these suffixes can be classified into the undermentioned groups:

Padra		Pāṭaka \	Siddhi
Vadra	j	Vāṭaka	Sāḍhi
$Pall\bar{\imath}$	1	Vāḍā	•
$Pall\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$	j	Vāṭikā	
Valli)	Ijjya or Ijya	
$Vallikar{a}$	}	Vasaņa)	
$Sthal ar{\imath}$)	V asahik $ar{a}$	
Sthāna.	Ì	Pura	
Draha)	Nagara -	
Hrada	-	Pattana)	
Sara)	Durga	

The list gives us no less than 24 different suffixes of place-names current in Gujarat from 100 A.D.—1300 A.D. Among them there are not more than a couple of suffixes like - nagara, and - pura denoting cities, and instances of these are not more than five, indicating that Gujarat then as now was primarily a country of villages.

Inscriptional and Modern Place-name Suffixes

Many of the modern place-names of Gujarat have retained these ancient suffixes, of course not in their original, but only in their transformed garb, due to the transition from Sanskrit to Gujarati.

In this process of understanding the modern place-name suffixes, we start with a group of ancient place-names, having the same suffix, and compare with it the group of definitely identified modern equivalents.

Ancient names	in padra	Modern names	
	Nigundipadraka	= Nāgarvāḍā	
	Taṇḍula-padraka	= Tāṇḍaljā.	
Gurjjara	<i>S'irīṣa</i> -padraka		
Rāṣṭrakūtā	<i>Vaṭa</i> -padra	= Vata-paddara-ka $> Vata$ -paddara-	
		ka <i>Vaḍa-</i> vaddara> <i>Vaḍoddarā</i>	

= Vadodarā (Baroda). *Vadra*-padra Caulukya $(L\bar{a}ta)^1$ Tala-padraka = Talodra = Vardala? Vatapadra Ancient names in vadra Gurijara Tara-vadra = Jolva Phala-vadra = Phalod Dambarapadraka = Not identified. Maitraka in Anumañi isthalī Chhedapadraka == Sedhāvadar, 21 miles south of Varjit, near Bhavnagar.¹ in $= H\bar{a}thab$, near Bhavangar. Hastavaprāhāra Indrāṇipadraka = Not identified. Valapadraka = Valāvad (?) 2 miles from Sihor. Dadhipadra = Dahod Caulukya Dālaüdra $= D\bar{a}lod$ $Dharavadrik\bar{a} = Dhared$ Hamdāiidra = Undwadia (Undwaria). Lāthivadra = Lātidra $Talodr\bar{a}$ = Talara (Talodara).

It will be observed that during the Caulukya period three of the names do not give the suffix - padra or - vadra, but their later (?) form, which undergoing a further simplification are now preserved as Dalod, Undwadia (Undwaria) and Talara respectively.

Modern: Dara

Answerable to the above place-names in - padra or - vadra, and their later forms or variations are the following, the second part of which consists of dara, from the Mehsana, Baroda, Navasari, and Amreli prānts of the Baroda State in Gujarat and Kathiawad.² Though their ancient proto-types have not been found so far in epigraphs, their endings suggest that they might be ancient. Further evidence in support of this inference is afforded by the first part of the name or

¹ According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

² As mentioned in the introduction, these have been listed on card-index system, but not published at this stage of the studies.

name-content, which unlike those of purely modern names does not begin with that of a deity—Siva, Viṣṇu, Rāma or Hanumān.

Likewise some of the names endin gin oda or oda or oda, of which there is a very large number in Mehsana prant might be traced to names with the suffix - padra or - vadra. But we cannot be so certain, as these name-endings belong not to the secondary stage, but to what we may call, the third or tertiary stage.

And if Talara is really derived from Talodra, which undoubtedly comes down from Talapadra or -vadra then a few modern names ending in $\circ ra$ or $\circ r\bar{a}$, could be so derived.

Palli

Out of the ancient place-names in - palli the following are identified with certainty.

Kataccuri: none.

Rāstrakūta: Brāhmaṇapalli = Bāmroli > Brahmapallī

 $Kalupallik\bar{a} = Kalol (or Kallol?)$

Vāradapallikā = Bārdoli

Maitraka: Antarapallikā = Antroli (?)

Aśilāpalli = Aśapalli, Asawal or Asārvā?

Viśvapalli = Vaṅsol.¹ Vaṭapallikā = Vāḍl'.¹ Ghaṇtāpalli = Ghaṅtoli

It is really a pity that out of the several Maitraka - $pallik\bar{a}$ names only a few can be identified.

Place-names with -vali or -valli-endings which have been identified are as under:

Kaṭaccuri: None Gurjjara: Goliavali

Rāstrakūta: Dhannavallikā = Dhānoli

 $\int harivallik\bar{a} = Z(jh)aroli.$ $Vadavall\bar{i} = Valod (?)$

Maitraka: None

¹ According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

Caulukya: Kacchāvalī = Kacholi.

Kāmvalaili = Kamlol (?)

Li or Oli

The above list shows that names in -valli or -vali should give us normally names ending in -oli.

As similar or identical results follow from names in - pallī, modern names with endings in -oli might have either of these as proto-types. A few of such place-names are found in Mehsana Prānt, from which we might reconstruct their older forms.

A few of the other (modern) forms in -li have their proto-types in the older names with suffix - sthalī, found only in Maitraka inscriptions and once in a Caulukya record. But - sthali was not an ordinary suffix. It denoted in many cases a territorial unit. Hence wherever it was applied on to the ordinary suffix, e.g. Kadambapadraka-sthalī, Vatapallikā-sthalī, it is possible that it would be dropped, when no longer that territorial unit existed. In cases where it formed the primary suffix, it seems to have formed a part of the name, and handed down in its shortened form. Thus we have Devathali in a Maitraka record, which itself seems to have been derived from a form like Deva-Dehasthalī, whereas the modern Amreli, chief town of the tāluka and prānt of that name in Kathiawar, might have been deirved from Ambarenusthalī. The classical instance is however of Vanthli which is said to have its proto-type in Vāmana-sthalī. If this is true, and if the latter is not a later sanskritized version, (for it is not found in earlier records of Kathiawad, though occurring in the Mahābhārata?), then many of the modern place-names in - thali might be similarly derived.

We have thus two Dethalis in the Mehsana Prant: one in the Siddhapur Kasba, and the other in *Vaḍāvaṇi* Kasba. There is one more name with this suffix, viz. *Sāṅngasthalī*. Like *Delvāḍa*, Dethali seems to be a popular place-name, its popularity being due to its connection with a deity.

In the Amreli *Prānt* there are three places; two *Rājathalis*, one in Damnagar and the other in Dhari Mahal; the third is Methali.

The rest of the modern place-names in - li might have their archetypes as names in - $pall\bar{\imath}$, - valli or - $sthal\bar{\imath}$, or in such names as Mandali or $M\bar{a}ndal$, $S\bar{a}kli$ or Sankli (of which we have no less than five in

the Mehsana *Prānt*, one each in Mehsana, Kheralu, and *Vaḍāvani* sub-divisions and two in *Vijāpur* subdivision), which have come down to us unchanged.

Sthana

None of the few names in - $sth\bar{a}na$ has been identified so what the exact relation between the proto-type and its present form is cannot be ascertained. Ordinarily - $sth\bar{a}na$ would change to $th\bar{a}na$. (Cf. $Sth\bar{a}na=Th\bar{a}n\bar{a}$; $Th\bar{a}n$ in Kathiawar derived from $Th\bar{a}naka$).

The solitary name with the - sthala suffix, viz. Mundasthala is identified with Murthal. This little datum is not sufficient to trace satisfactorily the archetypes of a large number of place-names with the ending - al or - ala in the Mehsana and other parts of the Baroda State. Only two names Saduthalī in the Vadāvani, another of the same name in the Visnagar and Thumaihala in the Visnagar sub-division can be cited. For the rest we should look out for some other archetype suffixes.

Dra

Of the very few names in - draha or - hrada the one that is most satisfactorily identified is Godrahaka, that is Godhara in the Panch Mahal District and $K\bar{a}sandra$, from $K\bar{a}sahrada$. According to this equation, some 10 names with the ending ${}^{\circ}dra$, or ${}^{\circ}dhara$ might have their origin in the suffix ${}_{\circ}draha$ or ${}^{\circ}hrada$.

Sara

There is no difficulty with regard to the modern place-names with the suffix-osara. Many of them are self-explanatory. The first part is the name of a person or tree etc., the second, -sara meaning a lake, has remained unchanged. Very often the first part has not undergone any change. Thus the following names have for about 500—1000 years withstood all changes.

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Gurjjara: Jambusara }
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 $C\bar{a}lukya$: Jambusara = Jambusar (a)

Navasārikā = Navsārī or Navasārī.

= Tambusar(a) Rāstrakūta: Tambusara Maitraka: **Tambusara** = Iambusar(a)

> Kāsara $= K\bar{a}sar$

Caulukva: = Navasārī Nāgasārīkā

> Phūlasara = Phul(a)sar(a) Vadasara= Vad(a)sar(a)= Nausar(a). Nausara

The one exception seems to be Bhāmsara which has now become Bhākhar, but then the second part is sara and not sara.

There are about 15 place-names with the suffix - sara spread over the whole of the Mehsana Prānt, of which I would mention only Panchāsar which traditionally goes back to the 8th century; others might be equally old or at least of the Caulukya (Solanki) period.

Vada

Place-names with the suffix - pātaka are not many. But as we saw this is a very ancient place-name suffix, even in literature. In Gujarat epigraphy the following places with this suffix have been identified. None before the Rāstrakūta period.

Rāstrakūta: Ambapāta(ka) Amod (pur) (not pātaka, but

merely - pāta).

Devalvādā¹ Deülavādā, Delvāda. Maitraka: Devakula-pātaka or Devalia, 14 miles east of

Dhral, Jamnagar State.

Dāmari-pataka ___ Lohāra-pātaka ==2 Mulavarma-pātaka ==

Viśāla-pātaka $Visali\bar{a}(?)$ ==

Amalakataka Amod, or Ambla 12 miles s. of Amti, in Padra Tālukā, Baroda

Bharukacchavisaya Prānt. 1

Caulukya: Anahila-pātaka Anahīlvad(a) or Anav(a)da.

Brāhmanavādā or Bāmbhana Brāhmanā-tātaka

vādā. or Bāmanvādā

Dodivē-pātaka Dodivādā. ==

GADRE. Important Inscriptions, Baroda State, 20.

Before commenting on these names, it is also necessary to consider at this stage place-names with the suffixes - $v\bar{a}taka$, and - $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$.

As I said previously only three names with the suffix- $v\bar{a}taka$ occur in pre-Caulukya records, and all these in the Maitraka records, whereas the place-name with the suffix $-v\bar{a}da$ occurs but once.

The one name in ovāda is Sumthavāda.

In the Caulukya inscriptions Anahilapataka is once mentioned with the suffix - $v\bar{a}taka$, while there are 10 place-names with the suffix $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, of which eight can be identified. They are:

```
Ādhivādā
                     \bar{A}div\bar{a}d(a)
                 ---
Āṅgaṇavādā
                    \bar{A}ngan(a)v\bar{a}d(a)
Corüyavādā
                = Corv\bar{a}d(a)
Deülavādā
                    Delvādā.
Rāṇāvādā
                = Ranavad(a)
Sāhilavāda
               = Selvad(a)
Sāmpavādā
               = S\bar{a}\dot{m}pav\bar{a}\dot{d}(a)
Varanāvāda
               = Varnav\bar{a}d(a).
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The question naturally arises whether the names with the suffix $-v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ are derived from the earlier forms $p\bar{a}taka$ or $-v\bar{a}taka$. Like -padra or -vadra, these do not mean the same thing.

Two names of the Caulukya period, Anahilapataka and Dodiya-pataka have now the suffix $-vada(\bar{a})$. On this analogy the eight placenames in -vada might have their original suffixes as -pataka. But Anahilapataka has once the suffix vataka also. Unless this be the engraver's mistake, the modern $vada(\bar{a})$ suffix might be derived from vataka. And this is philologically the more natural process.

In studying other modern place-names in $-v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, this twofold origin has to be kept in view.

Pada

But though $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ thus can be traced back to $p\bar{a}taka$ or $v\bar{a}taka$, the second or the latter of which only meant an enclosure, residence, colony or stronghold, $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ in the Caulukya period and later seems always to have conveyed this idea. Northern Gujarat has now some 40 place-names with this suffix, whereas Southern Gujarat, viz., $Navas\bar{a}ri$ $Pr\bar{a}nt$ has $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$; so also, as my pupil Dr. Naik informs me, village names in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ abound in that part of the Deccan which borders Gujarat, while

these become less and less southwards and eastwards. But this $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ or $p\bar{a}de$ cannot be derived from the Sk. Padra, as has been done by the late Mr. RAJWADE, and Editors of the $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}stra$ S'abdakoṣa.

Vadi

Just as we had one or two epigraphical references to names in $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$, even now there are not more than similar number of place-names in Northern Gujarat. $V\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ becomes $v\bar{a}d\bar{i}$, and this suffix we have in one place-name, $M\bar{a}tarv\bar{a}d\bar{i}$, in the $P\bar{a}tan$ sub-division.

Likewise there are only 45 place-names with the suffix vad(a) in the Mehsana $Pr\bar{a}nt$, a number which seems to be in proportion with that obtained from inscriptions. What is important to note is that the suffix has not undergone a change as in $Indr\bar{a}vada$ of the Caulukyan period, which is now called $Indr\bar{a}d$. This latter however suggests that some of the modern place-names in -d(a) might have their original suffixes -vata or -vada.

Jja, Jya or Iyya

Names with an ending in - *jja* or - *jya* or *iyya* which have been identified are as follows:

Kataccuri: Gorajja = Goraj.

Gurjjara: Bherajjikā

Kemajju(?) = Kimoj.

 $R\bar{a}$ ṣṭrakūṭa: $K\bar{a}$ rpāṭavāṇijya = Kapaḍvanj (vāṇij-ya indicates

suffix-ya, not-ij-ya-).

Maitraka: Anumānji(?)

Bandarijidri = Barejadi, 7 miles north of Meh-

= madabad.²

Desuraksitijja — Desor, 8 miles southeast of

Thasara.2

Kakkijja Karkijja

¹ Is it possible that some of the names in di, such as Limbadi, Fāladi are derived thus from Limba or Nimba-vāṭi or Pālavāṭi?

⁹ According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

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Kāndhajja (Surāstra) = Kundhej, 10 miles south-east of Dhānk.
          Moranjijja (Surāstra) = Morai, 7 miles west of Māliyā.
                               Sihui, 7 miles east of Mehmadabad.
          Sīhamuhijia
          S'ivatrātaijja
Caulukya: Avayānijya
          Cuyāmitija
          Dāsayaja
                                Dāsaj.
          Hethaümii
                                Hetamji
          Lānganaijya
                                Lānghnaj (Langhnej).
          Sūravaja
                                Sūraj.
          Vālaija
                                Bālei
          Vilahuja
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Identification of these place-names, though few, from inscriptions belonging to parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar, spreading over eight hundred years, shows how names with -ijya, or -ijja suffixes have survived with modified endings.

Five of the Caulukya names have been definitely identified, a number though small, is enough to tell us that of the other 30 or 35 names spread all over the Mehsana $Pr\bar{a}nt$ they are most probably not only old, but had their suffixes in -ijya or -ijja.

Vasana

Similar is the case with place-names having the suffix - vasana. Of the eight, five are identified. They are

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Caṇḍāvasaṇa=Chaḍāsun (a) 1Theḍha-vasaṇa=Dheḍāsan (a)Kūlāvasaṇa=Jhulāsan (a) (?)Luṇḍāvasaṇa=Luṇāsaṇ (a) ? Kadi.Naṇḍāvasaṇa-Nandāsan (a)Riṇasīhavasaṇa=Raṇasāṇ (a)Sahajavasaṇa-Raṇasāṇ (a)
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¹ Ordinarily OIA -n- NIA -n-. In these names also we expect -n-, and in some (most) cases the ending is -na- or $n\bar{a}$. But whether it is so in all cases can only be determined by a visit to the places. Maps and Directories are unreliable.

This leaves little doubt as to the identity of the suffix or ending - sana, in a very large number—over 100, perhaps the largest number in the whole of Northern Gujarat—of place-names. In some cases even the complete suffix vasana is still retained. Thus:

Bhāṭavāsaṇā Hilolvāsaṇā
Bhūtiyavāsaṇā Jetalavāsaṇā.
Galolivāsaṇā Kākavāsaṇā.
Gulavāsanā.

The few epigraphical references would show that the suffix - vasaṇa denotes an abode, a habitation, or a colony, either of a person or group of persons. This interpretation is confirmed by the names now existing, showing also that it was applied to the habitation of spirits and others.

Pura, Puri, Nagara

Now remain the suffixes *pura*, *purī* and *nagara*, each denoting a city or town. There are very few references to such large places in inscriptions. India is a land of villages. It is not an empty political slogan, based on present economic factors, but a truth also demonstrated by place-name studies. From the earliest historical times we have the following.

	Nagara	Pura .	$Purar{\imath}$
Kṣatrapa:	Girinagara		
Traikūṭaka:		Kapūra?	
Kațaccūri:		$ar{A}$ nanda p ura	
Gurjjara:	Girinagara	Daśapura	Nāndipurī
			$(N\bar{a}\dot{n}dod)$
Guj. Cālukva:		Vijayapura	Vijaya-Anirudhapurī
Rāṣṭrakūṭa:		Harṣapura	_
		Helāpura	
		Katipura	
		Karmāntapura	
		Sāmbapura	
	Vaṭanagara.		
Paramāra:	<u> </u>	Ananda p ura	

Nagara Pura Puri Vatanagara Anandapura. Maitraka: Girinagara \bar{A} nartapura Brahmapura Danturapura = Dantardi, (?) 6 miles south of Mandal Daśapura Kaundinyapura (Kodinar?) Simhapura (Sihor) S'ivabhāgapura Suryapura. Gurijara-Pratihāra: Jayapura Caulukya: Anahilapā-Anahilapātapura = Anahila? Anāvādā or takanagara merely Pātan Ānandapura Anandanagara Bhāüttapadranagara Brahmapuri (grāma) (Bhampori). *Arathaura* = Aithor Devanagara Dhanāra (Dhananagara?) Dhanorā-(grāma) Dhanapura. Hāmsalpaura (Hāmsalpur (a)) Līlāpura (*Līlāpura*) Nagara (Vadnagar) Mangalapura (Māngrol) Vrddhinagara Naddulapura = Naddula? $(N\bar{a}dol)$ Pālhanapura (Pālanpur) Ratanapura (Ratanpur)

Rupāpura
(Rupāpur)
Salakhaṇapura
(Saṅkhalpur)
Satyapura
(Sāṅchor)
Siṁhapura (Sihor)
Udayapura
{ Udaypur or
 Udai (or e) pur?
Vāmanapura
(Wadhwan).

The above list shows at a glance that among nagara, pura and purī, pura was the most common. And this is confirmed by an analysis of modern place-name suffixes. How are we to distinguish these modern place-names from those of the 12th century or of the earlier period?

Two tests are available. The first test is that many of the early names with pura suffix have in the course of centuries been changed to some such ending as -or (-rol), the first part itself undergoing certain changes as $Ma\dot{n}gal = M\bar{a}\dot{n}g$, $Si\dot{m}ha = S\bar{i}ha$; $P\bar{a}lha\dot{n}a = P\bar{a}lan$, $Salakhana = Sa\dot{n}khal$.

A few names have come down almost unchanged, while in some the ending nagara or pura is dropped. To distinguish these from the modern place-names we have to examine the name content or first part of the name. Most of the modern place-names have either the suffix pura or purā,¹ though invariably these are small villages or hamlets. Secondly the first part of the name is either of a Hindu deity such as Raṇachoḍ, Rāma, Keśava, Hanumān, or a Muslim name. As Muslims effectively penetrated Gujarat after the 13th century and as no early place-name has any of these deities as first part of its name, the conclusion is irresistible that all these names are at least post-

¹ It is the result of Muslim contact, as *Purā* originally, as the author of *Mirāt-e-Ahmadi*, Supplement, says, was a suburb, or a place colonised by a Muslim king or his officer.

14th century, if not later. A further study of these names will show how among them, certain names came first, and others later; what names are related with different political rulers and their ministers and nobles and what names are related to the rise of the cult and sects of $R\bar{a}ma$, $Hanum\bar{a}n$ and $B\bar{a}la$ -Krsna or Gokula-Krsna.

These place-names do not form however the bulk of the place-names in Gujarat, but a small percentage. Having fixed their risc we can safely leave them out of consideration.

The modern place-names which require a consideration are those which end in - or, - ol or those whose name contents show them to be old. But after the post-14th century names are weeded out, the number of such names is very small, which is not surprising as really big cities were few and far between then as now.

Ancient names in -nagara were still fewer. Even now they are few, but if the number appears slightly larger, it is due to the fact that most of them are of recent origin, e.g. Jamnagar, Navanagar, Bhavnagar, Damnagar. In really old names nagara has changed into $-n\bar{a}r$ or -ner.

Patan

Names with the suffix - pattana seem to have changed to - patan as Somanatha - or Devapura - pattana = Somnatha and But it is curious how Anahilapura is now called Patan or Pattan, for not once in epigraphs it has the suffix pattana. It must have had a flourishing trade, but that is not an adequate reason.

Durga

There is only one name, that too of the late 13th century which has durga as a suffix. This is $\mathcal{J}irna$ -durga or our famous $\mathcal{J}un\bar{a}gadh(a)$. Though a solitary instance it explains the fashion then set in, after which a few other names in gadh(a) can be interpreted. As their first part reveals, even these are post-14th century or later. There now remain a few old place-names where the original suffix, if any,

¹ Not to speak of a house called *Sikkānagar* in Bombay! But even this satisfies the population test, as the number it holds would exceed that of a village, so the *nagara* suffix is not wrong.

cannot be easily discerned. These are mentioned here, along with some of their well-identified or probable modern equivalents. In grouping them I have merely noted the similarity in endings, irrespective of the meaning contained in each name.

Ka or Ke

The largest of this group has the pleonastic - ke or - ka ending. This is dropped in many of the modern forms. Thus:

Ankot Ankottaka Anti Antikā = Bharthānā Bharthāranaka Bhadrānaka = Bharāṇā Bhadrāraka = $Bhadr\bar{a}ra$ Bhadrad (?) Bhadrenikā = Barda Hill (?) Barataka Chorund Corundaka $Godhr\bar{a}$ Godrahaka $= K\bar{a}v\bar{i}$ Kāpikā = Kunā Konaka = Kolivāk Kalahātaka = Kūkād Kukkuta Mankanikā = Mānkni Mottaka = $Mot\bar{a}$ Nāgasārikā = Navsārī = Padan Patanaka Sajod Sajjodaka Ţimānā Timbānaka

In the remaining instances -ka may be forming part of the name proper, as in Sūnaka; Sanki, Muṇḍaka; while in one or two instances the intermediate letter (or letters) are dropped, and the diminutive has become part of the word (cf. Sihaka=Sika).

Whatever be the cause, whether the diminutive originally formed part of the word or it was added on by the composer of the epigraph, or whether it disappeared in course of time as being superfluous, the fact is that now there are very few words with the ending ka in Mehasana Prānt.

The second largest number is of names in $\bar{\imath}$, further sub-divided by the preceding consonant into the following groups: -khi, -di, ti, ni, hi, ri, li. Each sub-group contains but a few names, which as the modern equivalents show have retained the original form almost unchanged, but in one case the final $\bar{\imath}$ is dropped. (cf. Trihati=Tret).

Some of these forms in $\tilde{\imath}$ (modern Guj. $-\tilde{\imath}$ - $ik\bar{a}$ etc.) might be diminutives. (cf. Mandala and $Mandal\bar{\imath}$,) but this is not easy to detect. Even now many dimunitives are formed by adding $\tilde{\imath}$ or di.

Whatever it be even now there are a few place-names in *Mehsāna Prānt* ending in -di, ti, ni, ri, li etc. of which the largest group is formed by names in di ($L\bar{a}chadi$ -) etc.

The third largest group is names in \cdot da. In most cases it is retained in the modern equivalents.

Next come groups consisting of 2 or 3 or 5 names. Such are those ending in *chcha*, *dha*, *gha*, $s\bar{a}$, $b\bar{a}$, $v\bar{a}$, $y\bar{a}$, la, an, ra, er, ar. Small as these groups are, the corresponding groups of modern place-names, excepting those in $v\bar{a}$, $y\bar{a}$ and la, are also small.

Some of the names in $-v\bar{a}$, as the identifications show, might have been derived from $k\bar{u}pa$ or $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ meaning a well.

A study and comparison of the suffixes of all the pre-13th century Gujarat place-names and the modern (particularly within the Baroda State) has shown that almost 90 per cent of the latter names have their roots in the past. That is particularly true of the present place-name pattern in the Mehsana *Prānt* of the Baroda State. But as we go southwards towards Central and Southern Gujarat, the pattern changes, the change becoming self-evident in the Navsari *Prānt*. I will briefly indicate the characteristics of these sub-Gujarat placename patterns and the causes of the differentiation; further that in certain areas certain old suffixes or their present forms predominate, a finding which should make us think and try to account for it.

Modern Place-Names in Baroda Prant

An analysis of the present place-name suffixes in the Baroda *Prānt* shows the existence of the following place-name endings. In the order in which we have discussed the old and their corresponding modern suffixes, first come:—

- I. Names in dara, or (\bar{a}) , most probably derived from padra or vadra da.
- II. There are about 40 of these and found unevenly spread over the *Bhādarva*, Baroda, Dabhoi, Karjan, *Pādarā*, *Peṭlāḍ* (a), *Sāvli*, *Sivara*, *Sāvli*, *Sankhedā*, and Vaghodia *Mahāls* or *Tālukās* of the *Prānt*. *Pādarā* and *Sankhedā Tālukās* have the largest numbers.
- III. Names in da, or ad or od are very few, much fewer than those in Mehsana *Prant*. These also might be from padra or vadra.
- IV. Names in -li or -oli or -ali, derived from pallī or valli, are also about equal in number and found practically in all the Mahāls.
- v. Names in -li descended from sthalī seem to be very few.
- VI. There is a large number of names in -ola, -ala, -ela, but it is difficult to say how many of these are from names in sthala.
- VII. Names in -dhara, as well as a few in -dara, both most probably derived from draha or hrada are very few. But instead there are names in -kuā, kuī, sara, and sari, and in -avā, all of which except the last are denotative of the source of water supply in the region. Further plotting of these suffixes would reveal the special peculiarity of each mahāl or group of mahāls, forming really one physiographic unit.
- VIII. There are about 18 names in $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, 7 in $v\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ and one in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, the first derived from $v\bar{a}taka$, second from $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$, and the last from $p\bar{a}taka$.
 - IX. Names in -ja, $-aja(\bar{a})$, -oja, -eja are altogether 23 in number. The archetype of all these are difficult to trace, but those ending in -eja should most probably be from -ijya, as Langhnaj from $L\bar{a}nganaijya$. So Dhanteja, Sannaeja, $P\bar{a}nej\bar{a}$ might be derived.
 - x. Not more than 5 names end in either saṇ a (or \bar{a}). One of them actually has the ending $-v\bar{a}saṇ\bar{a}$. There are about 20 names in $-\bar{a}n\bar{a}$. Some of these like Dethana, and $Bharathan\bar{a}$ might have the original ending $sth\bar{a}na$. In some it might be forming part of the word itself.

By far the largest number of place-names, and perhaps larger than all other groups combined, are the names in pura, purā, paru, purī, and nagara.

Among these, places in -nagara are only three of which Dāmnagara, and probably Rājnagar are definitely modern. Of the names in -pura etc., those which end in - purā and those which have for their first part names like Gaṇapai, Hanumān etc. are definitely post-13th century and even much later. Their large number however shows the modernity of a number of place-names or their conversion during the Muslim and Maratha periods. Some are definitely converts, and bear the old as well the new names.

Another peculiarity of the place-names of this division in Central Gujarat is that there are about 10 names half of which end in -svara, and half in $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$, showing that they are after Siva or Ganeśa and some local goddess.

Then there are names, about 20, which end in -e. None, or hardly one with such ending was found in Northern Gujarat. Their existence in Baroda *Prānt* is to be attributed to the recent Maratha domination, or the increasing *Marāṭhī* influence as we go southwards.

There is a fairly large number of place-names after trees, found principally in Sinora, Sankhedā and Tilakvādā Mahāls which are comparatively more wooded than the rest of the Mahāls in this Prānt, or in the north.

Modern Place-Names in Navsari Prant

Like the Baroda and Mehsana *Prānts*, Navsari *Prānt* has about 30 names ending in - ra. Only some of them like *Saḍodarā*, *Raṇodarā*, *Talodarā*, can be definitely declared to be old, and derived from names ending in *padra* or *vadra*.

Others, like Vyārā, Alurā might have other affinities with or might belong to the tertiary stage of their formation. There are a few names in - aḍa, oḍa, but we cannot say for certain whether they are derived from padra or vadra. Names like Pinasāda, like Borsad, might be from the ending - siddhi.

There are over 50 names in -li, -ela, -ola, -mala, -vela, -ala. Whereas Maroli, Amroli, Charoli, have come down from palli or valli; Dethali from $-sthal\bar{i}$; other endings $-m\bar{a}la$ etc. seem to be new. In $Pipal\bar{a}$ and the like -la forms part of the word itself.

Names having endings derived from - draha or - hrada are few, but there are several, more than in Mehsana and Baroda divisions, with the endings, - sara, - sari, $kuv\bar{a}$, $ku\bar{i}$, $v\bar{a}v$, and even vihira. The last is undoubtedly a $Mar\bar{a}th\bar{i}$ name for a well.

Perhaps individually forming the largest number are the names in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ and $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, each group having about 25 names each. From their names proper many of these appear to be old names. What is surprising is that further south, as we enter the Konkan proper, my colleague Mrs. Karve tells me that similar large number of place-names ending in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ are met with, but as observed before, the number of names in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ decreases, as we go eastwards and southwards, no names being met with in $Karn\bar{a}taka$. It remains to be ascertained whether the change from $p\bar{a}taka$ to $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ or $p\bar{a}de$ is due to the influence of the $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{t}$ language and culture.

So far very few names ending in $-j\bar{a}$ ($Velanj\bar{a}$), one of them is $K\bar{a}mrej$ which occurs in inscriptions as Kammanijja, and three in $-s\bar{a}na$ are found. One of the latter, $K\bar{a}s\bar{i}mas\bar{a}na$, if the first part $K\bar{a}sim$ is really a Muslim name, $Q\bar{a}sim$, it must be of a recent origin, showing however that ending -vasana, $-s\bar{a}na$ was applied to new names as well.

Names in -pura, pura, -por(a), are less than in the Baroda Prant. The ending -por(a) seems to be peculiar to the western coast of Southern Gujarat.

Besides these names, having endings most probably derived from older suffixes or endings there is a large number of names, which have endings like *devī*, *dari*, *turi*, *duṅgarī*, *gaḍh*, -ī, many of which seem to be peculiar to the *Navsāri* division, and particularly characteristic of its wooded and hilly parts. This reason also seems to account for a number of place-names after trees, specially, *āribā*, the mango-tree, having prefixes like *Vādhāribā*, *Phorigiāribā*, *Rāṇiāribā*.

The above analysis of place-name endings¹ from the Northern, Central, and Southern Gujarat, though from limited evidence, as evidence from British Districts and other Indian States has not yet been available, shows, even as a sample, how the modern place-names in Northern Gujarat have much greater affinity, and in very large proportion, with place-names from Caulukya inscriptions; how even the rest of Gujarat has over 50 per cent of names, whose endings go back to antiquity. No doubt there are differences between all these parts.

¹ See the specially preparad coloured map showing the place-name pattern.

But these are due primarily to the varying physiography in the three regions, and even in sub-parts of each region; secondly to the different political and cultural influences. If Southern Gujarat has many placenames indicative of its varied drainage systems, its hilly and forest areas, certain name-endings can be accounted for by its closer physical and cultural contact with the *Konkan* and *Mahārāshtra*. Further detailed studies will reveal the exact place-name pattern of Gujarat as a whole and the relation between its various sub-divisions.

Modern Place-Names from Kathiawad

The evidence from Kathiwad is much more limited in extent. It relates only to the Baroda State's scattered possessions, all grouped under what is known as the Amreli *Prānt*. However this small sample datum is fairly significant and suggestive of what may be the general place-name pattern in Kathiawad and its relation to the pattern revealed by inscriptions.

As I have said previously in these series Kathiawad has a number of place-names with the ending - vadara, which is but derived from -vadra. A few of these are found in the Amreli Prānt.

There are also a few names in - $dar\bar{a}$ which might be from padra, really <-padra-+-da while the exact origin of a number of places in $-d\bar{a}$, -da and -di remains doubtful.

Places in $sthal\bar{\imath} > -li$, -ala, -ela, -ola are there, but what is remarkable is the number of names in -thali. These all must be related with the $-sthal\bar{\imath}$ endings of place-names in Maitraka plates.

Names ending in *dharā* and *dhari* cannot be derived from - *draha* or *hrada*. Their proto-type as yet remains unknown.

Names ending with - sara have, most of them, to be connected with sara. There are a couple of names in -jh(z) ara also.

The $Pr\bar{a}nt$ has no names in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, but has a few names in $v\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ ($Dhedav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$), which might be from $p\bar{a}taka$ or $v\bar{a}taka$; there is a $v\bar{a}da$, which should be from $v\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$, and one name in vada.

As in other *Prānts* in Gujarat, almost 50 per cent of the names have the endings - pura or - purā and a few - nagara. Most of these are late, as the first part of their name suggests.

So far only one name is found in - vasana, but about seven in gadh, and one in kota, and a couple or so in dungarī. The latter three have

undoubtedly much to do with the hilly nature of the country, and small principalities, governed by semi-independent rulers, called *Darbārs*, or *Thākors*.

This brief sketch of the endings of modern place-names, even from a part of Kathiawad, shows that its place-name pattern, while generally similar to that noticed in other parts of Gujarat, has its specialities too. These are exhibited in endings as vadara, -thali, -gadh and -kot, and having no names ending in $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$.

Classification of Names

Classification of names according to their name contents is indeed difficult. The meanings which the dictionaries—Sanskrit and Prākrit—suggest have also their limitations. Very often a name has more than one meaning. What its exact connotation is can probably be understood only by a personal visit to the place. For example Muṇḍa-sthala, may be after the old non-Aryan tribe of the Muṇḍās or Kols which inhabited this area or it may be after S'iva, as Muṇḍa is one of the names of this god. But this meaning can be verified and proved correct, if there are even ruins of the temple etc. of S'iva, who was called so.

The limitations referred to are that the dictionaries may not be giving really ancient usages, or usages as old as the inscriptional name itself. They at times record the meanings given by later works.

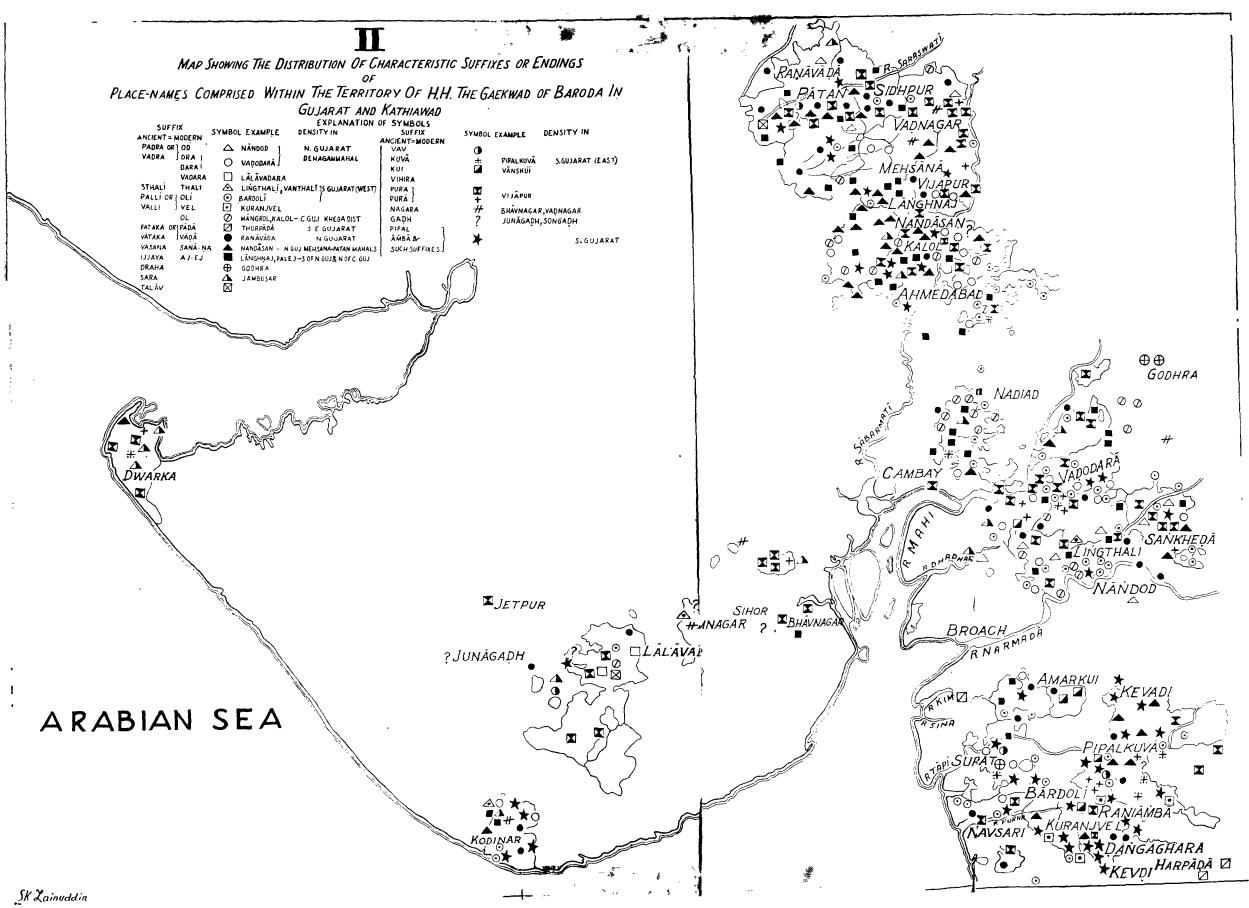
So the interpretations suggested here are to be understood as provisional, and not final. They need further corroboration from other sources, but particularly from a first hand knowledge of the place itself.

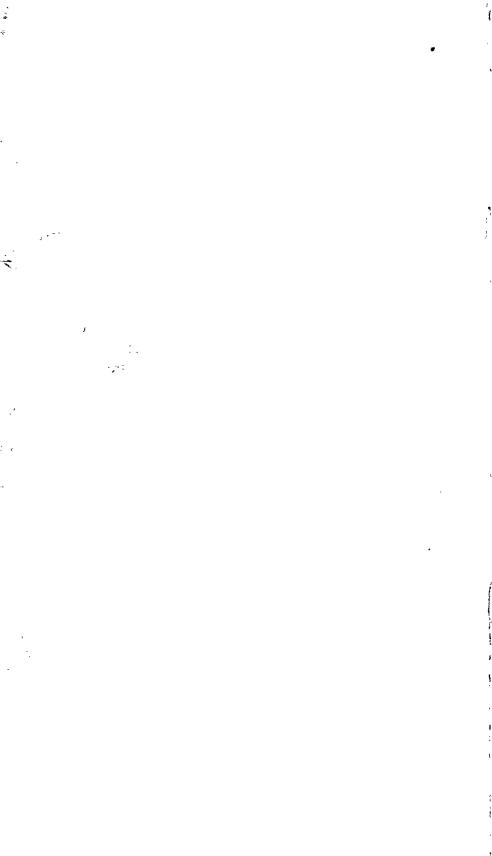
Names of Deities

There are about 30 names after deities which I have been able to collect after interpretation. Of these five are of a general nature, having the name *Deüli*, *Devāü* or Deva, to which *grāma*, *vāḍā* and *nagara* are added.

Two names seem to be after Indra, and two after Varuṇa, provided that in each case Indra and Varuṇa were not ordinary personal names, or Varṇa or Varuṇa, does not stand for something else.

Of the four names of Viṣṇu, there is no doubt about three, which have S'eṣadevati, Vāmana, and Satyapura for their first part.





 $M\bar{a}lakatarai$ may be after $m\bar{a}la$, which is given as a name of Visnu.¹

Viṣṇu's i.e. Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma stands perhaps for Tāladhvaja, modern Talājā. According to the Mahābhārata tradition this would be a very ancient place. Whether it is so or not, can be proved by a field survey. The caves at Talājā and its vicinity are at least 1500 years old.

About 9 places seem to be so named after S'iva's respective names. Of these there is no doubt about Someśvara-, —n, S'ivaliyā-grāma, Ghaṇṭā-palli, Stambha-tīrtha. The last is noticed . famous centre of Linga worship in the Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. Whether it is a later interpolation I cannot say but epigraphically we have no earlier references than the 11th-12th century.

Ghūsadī² is the original or pre-12th century name of $V\bar{\imath}ramg\bar{a}m$ (a). I believe here was a temple of Siva, when the $V\bar{\imath}rama$, a son of $V\bar{\imath}radhavala$, rebuilt, and named after him $V\bar{\imath}rameśva$. The site now perpetuates the memory of both the enshriner and the enshrined. If the temple were rebuilt, as I suppose it was, then its examination might reveal the pre-Caulukyan architectural forms.

Nothing can be said confidently about Kālhri, Kuśaloḍa and Muṇḍa-sthala without a field survey.

Of the two names in $S\bar{u}rya$, one $S\bar{u}rayaja$ is self-explanatory. It is left to be inquired whether it has a temple of $S\bar{u}rya$. More interesting is the explanation about Modhera or Mudhera. If it is from $Mund\bar{a}ra$, which is supposed to be the name of a place where the Sun is worshipped then two explanations are possible. The first is that the dictionary reference itself is late, probably after Mudhera or Modhera, which had a 11th century temple of $S\bar{u}rya$. Or that the place had a shrine of $S\bar{u}rya$ before this date, and was called by the name Mun, ra. Subsequently the temple was rebuilt, but the place continued to be known after its earlier, but slightly modified name. How the place came to have the shrine of $S\bar{u}rya$, whether it had anything to do h $Br\bar{a}hmanas$,

This is not however likely as *Māl* is a Tamil name and it peen proved to be pan-Dravidian. S. K. C.

What does Ghūsadī mean? What language is it? I think in there is a desī word ghusuri meaning 'pig'. Are these connected? S. K. C.

Mundāra > Modherā, not likely. S. K. C.

who are known after the place as "Modherā" lead us into further fields of investigation.

Only two places, S'rīsthala and Indilā (Indirā), have so far been known to be named after goddesses; in this case after Lakṣmī (?) About Indilā I am not sure. Another place is Vahichara, the modern Behcharāji or Bahucharā. Inscriptions give no hint as to the place being a pilgrimage place, though it is mentioned twice. Now, however, it is an important place, having three temples, all after a goddess, with two grand feast days, when people from far and near gather together at the place.

Of the three temples, the smallest is said to be the earliest, supposed to have been built in Sainvat 1208 (A.D. 1152) by Sankal $R\bar{a}j$, after whom the neighbouring village is named. The remaining two temples were built in the Maratha period.

The goddess, from the description given in the *Baroda Gazetteer*, seems to be a type of mother goddess.

According to a tradition cited by FORBES the place was called after a Chāran woman Bahucharā. 1

The Caulukya inscriptions, however, give no clue about the place's origin, antiquity or sacredness, whereas it is probable that the place, situated in a wild forest-like region, got its name from some aboriginal people, and the temple of the goddess, even if there before, became popular in the post-Caulukya period.

Personal Names

Very few comments are necessary on names after ordinary men and women. Four names are after words derived from $\sqrt{-raj}$. Two of these $r\bar{a}na^{\circ}$ are in their Prakrit form.

The rest, about 16, are after individuals. Of these Anahilla, $\bar{A}\dot{s}\bar{a}$, are traditionally common people. Dhavala, (from $V\bar{\imath}radhavala$?) $H\bar{a}\dot{m}$ -sala, $L\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$, S alakhana and perhaps $R\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}$ belonged to a royal family, mostly of the Caulukyas themselves.

Sīhaka might be after Sīyaka himself,² the Paramāra king of Malwa and eastern part of Central and North Gujarat in the 10th century. So also Bhojuyā.

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VII, 609 12.

² Strictly speaking it would be Sihaka > Simhaka. S. K. C.

Who were Nanda(a) and Sahaja, and Prasanna?

Sūnaka has remained unchanged for these 1000 years and more. How much older is it? Has it anything to do with the Rṣī of that name and other people mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Vāyu Purāṇa?

 $Varuṇaśarmmak\bar{\imath}yapadra$, the present $Va\dot{q}sam\bar{a}$, may be, as suggested before, after the shrine of Varuṇa, or a $Br\bar{a}hmaṇa$ of that name, as the ending $\acute{s}armma$ indicates.

Similar may be the case with *Candrāvatī* and -pallī where Candra may be a personal name, or after Candra, the moon-god.

Over 12 names seem to be after tribes or peoples. Among these the most important is the one after which the country came to be called, first $G\bar{u}rjara$, and then Gujarat.²

Has the word $D\bar{a}sayaja$ anything to do with the $D\bar{a}sas$ or Dasyus, who according to one interpretation of some Rgvedic passages lived in and around Mt. Abu? $Dodiy\bar{a}p\bar{a}taka$, the present $Dodiv\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ near Behcharaji, might be either after a $Br\bar{a}hmana$, if the word was originally Doda; or a lower class of men, as doda, a $Des\bar{i}$ word signifies. Doda is also a name of a family. In any case the word will mean the $p\bar{a}taka$, quarter, inhabited by Dodas.

If $Ha\dot{m}d\bar{a}$ in $Ha\dot{m}d\bar{a}\dot{u}dra$ is the same as $ha\dot{n}d\bar{a}$, a low class female, it would mean a village consisting (largely) of such people.

Kirātakūpa, the inscriptional word for modern Kirāḍu, would suggest a well of Kirātas, hunters,³ a degraded tribe, or a place where Siva was worshipped as Kirāta. In the latter case, there should be an old temple of Siva or its ruins at Kirāḍu.

The places Mahimṣaka and Mahisāṇā recall the Māhiṣmakas, people mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Aśvamedha, (LXXXIII. 2435-37), Māhiṣikas (Matsya, CXIII. 47), Bṛhatsamhitā and the Vāyu Purāṇa.

¹ But OIA -k- would be become zero in NIA. S. K. C.

I have shown elsewhere (JGRS, 1946) in great detail that some of the early rulers and a part of the population of Rajputana and N. Gujarat belonged to Saka, Hūṇa, Gurjjara and other peoples of Central Asia. So the country came to be called after them "Gurjartrā", Gurjaratrā-bhūmi; then after the 10th-11th century most of the present Gujarat came to be known as Gurjara-maṇḍala.

³ It is doubtful if this has relation to the Kirātas mentioned in the MBH. II, 48. 8 etc. MOTICHANDRA has pointed out (JUPHS, XVII, i, 40) that these were Tibeto-Burman people living in Eastern India.

There is also a *Mahiṣaka* mentioned in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscription which I would identify with a place in the Kaira District. Were all these place-names connected with the people referred to in the *Mahābhārata* they should be of great antiquity, and would lend support to Munshi's theory, according to which the founders of *Māhiṣmatī* were the Haihayas, an earlier or shall we say an outer band of *Āryans*, that had settled in Gujarat long prior to the inner band which came later.

Munda-sthala, if not after Munda, which is supposed to be a name of Siva, may be after the people of this name, who, according to the researches of Schmidt and others and accepted by Grierson, belonged to what is called Austro-Asiatic family. Various tribes, speaking different Munda dialects still live in Chota Nagpur, parts of N. and W. Bengal and the Madras Presidency.

So also Naṭāüli, Saḍesara, and Saṇḍera; if Naṭa means a particular caste, (the original word being Naṭavalli) and Saṇḍa, the same as the name of a people as given by the Mahābhārata, and the Vāyu Purāṇa. Now Saṇḍesarā (which I think, is the same as Saḍesara) is a surname, denoting people from this village.

Most of the place-names in part two of the group are self-explanatory, signifying the colonies of Brāhmaṇas, Coras, Dheḍas and Kumbhāras. Dheḍavasaṇa might signify a separate small colony of Dheḍs i.e. sweepers, for, as Dr. Ghurye¹ has noticed, in Gujarat impure as well as other caste groups had distinct quarters of the town allotted to them. If this interpretation is accepted, it would mean, that this practice is at least a 1000 years old. If Kambū and Luṇḍā in Kamboīkā and Luṇḍāvasaṇa mean a thief, then both these places would also signify settlements of thieves. Māla in "Mālakatarigrāma" has several meanings. Besides signifying the name of Viṣṇu, it signifies the name of a barbarous tribe or people, a forest or wood near a village, a bird, a garland-maker, a painter, a dyer; which of these is applicable cannot be determined without visiting the place.

But taking into consideration the wild, undeveloped nature of the country towards Cutch in the west, and Mt. Abu in the north and Idar in the east, I am inclined to think that names like Dāsaj, Kirāḍu, Murthal, Saṇḍer, Natāili, Kanboī and Lundāvasana stand for the

¹ Caste and Race in India, 10.

original inhabitants of the region, most of them non-aryans and given to plunder etc. Linguistically also many of these seem to be loan words in the MIA from the $De\tilde{si}$ or aboriginal language.

In Bhuharḍā, which is identified with Bhutwāḍ, and Saṇḍera, which is also the home of a demon, we have perhaps names of spirits and the like.

Names after Trees, Flowers, Reeds

There are four names after food grains, of which $D\bar{a}ngarau\bar{a}$ (Dangarau) deserves notice. In Gujarati ' $D\bar{a}ngar$ ' means unhusked rice, the husked rice being called ' $Chokh\bar{a}$ '. The latter is also mentioned in a 13th-century inscription from $Sur\bar{a}stra$.

The word for rice, occurring most frequently in inscriptions is $vr\bar{t}hi$ and $t\bar{a}ndula$; the latter is used in the same form in the Deccan and perhaps in many parts of India, whereas in Gujarat cooked rice is called $bh\bar{a}t(a)$, uncooked but husked $chokh\bar{a}$, and the unhusked ' $d\bar{a}ngar$ '.

Why is the last called $d\bar{a}ngar$? Has it anything to do with the hilly, swampy country in which rice grows? In Southern Gujarat, we have the famous $D\bar{a}ng$ region, which is hilly, wooded, and abode of Bhills and other aboriginal tribes. It might be producing rich rice crops.

I have been to $D\bar{a}\dot{n}gara\ddot{u}\bar{a}$. It has several low loessic mounds $(\underline{t}\dot{m}b\bar{a}s)$, containing microliths. If, therefore, $D\bar{a}\dot{n}gar$ means hilly, upland, country, then in $D\bar{a}\dot{n}gara\ddot{u}\bar{a}$ we have a place-name, according to the physiographic character of the place.

A place-name 'Dongā' occurs in a 5th century inscription from Bengal and is compared with the name 'dāngā' meaning high-land, high, in modern Bengal place-names. The words 'dāngai', 'dāngar', 'dāngari' 'dāngauri', and 'dāng' also occur and all are said to have been derived from the Deśī word 'dāngā'. This is also compared with the Assamese 'dāngaria'.

Perhaps this one word ' $d\bar{a}ng\bar{a}$ ' or ' $d\bar{a}ngar$ ' might reveal the relation between the original ethnic groups now inhabiting the $D\bar{a}ngs$ in Southern Gujarat, and similar regions in Bengal and Assam border. If it is a $Mund\bar{a}$, or any one of the Austro-Asiatic dialects, it will be

¹ The word rice itself comes from the Dravidian word, which reaching Greece in about the 4th century B. C. became current in all European languages. (Cited by P. K. Gode, NIA, VI, 264).

one more link in the chain of evidence, indicating to the former, in distant past, non-Aryan culture in Gujarat.

Among names after foods and drinks, we have a river and a place after dadhi (curds), a place after milk, dudh(a) (?). Even if there were more it would not be surprising, for our $Pur\bar{a}nas$ have already, at least for the last 1500 years or more, spoken of seas of milk, curds, honey etc. and of continents or lands named after trees.

Names after Sites

There are a number of names after purely physical features. Of these I would speak of only a few viz. Godrahaka, Kāśahrada, Kuïla, Nāgasārikā, and Saṅgamakheṭaka. Godrahaka, our Godhara, must have been so-called because of a pond or a lake where cows and buffaloes perhaps enjoyed their daily bath; Kāṣahrada, modern Kāsandrā, should have a lake full of Kāśa reeds, and Nāgasārikā, which is a later name for Navasārikā, seems to have been a Sanskritization to connote a lake full of cobras.

If Kuïla or Kiol is derived from Kukila meaning mountain, then at Kiol we have a fairly high wooded microlithic mound. I have been on this hill and think that the hill forms a prominent feature of the landscape.

Sankhedā in the tālukā of the same name in Baroda Prānt, Central Gujarat, a few miles east of Baroda and Dabhoi is situated on the confluence of the Orsang and other small rivers. Hence, since the 6th century at least, the place is called Sangama-Kheṭaka, a village on the confluence. Even then it was the head-quarters of the district (viṣaya) of the same name, as it is now. It is one of the most ancient places in Central Gujarat, still preserving the beautiful art of lacdecoration on local wood.

But perhaps the most interesting is the name Sābarmatī. It is popularly derived from S'vabhramatī, meaning one having holes or crevices. Little do people in Gujarat realize nor did I realize until while working on this subject my attention was drawn by Rao Bahadur

And this would explain its physiography very well indeed. But according to Dr. Chatterji, OIA. Svabhramat $\bar{i} > MIA$. Sobhama (d) \bar{i} should give a NIA. Sobhawai, $S\bar{a}baramat\bar{i}$ is the Sanskritization of some other name. What could that be?

K. N. DIKSHIT, how very accurate the name is of the Sābarmatī valley! One of the longest rivers in Gujarat, it has extremely high, sometimes 200 feet high banks. These are cut up into innumerable kotars, and nalās or gullies. Naturally these drew the attention of the Purāṇakāra or whoever saw it and named it Svabhramatī. Though the name does not occur in a single inscription it vividly describes the physiography of the river valley. Hemacandra mentions it.

About 4 names seem to be after artificial physical features, or after buildings, such as a courtyard, a mound near a bathing place etc.

Names after birds and animals are very few. I wonder if Kurali is so called after Kurala, an osprey, and *Undirā* and *Uṭauyā* after the rat and the camel respectively. *Nāgasārikā* was certainly after the cobra.

In Haṇiāyāṇi and Kambāli we have perhaps names after articles of trade.

Lastly we have a few place-names after auspicious or pleasant events, or wealth such as *Aithora* from Arthapura (?), Dhanora from Dhanapura (?), and *Anandapura* or nagara, *Bhadrāṇaka* (*Bharāṇā*), *Kāliyāṇā*, and *Maṅgalapura* (*Māṅgrol*).

Pre-Caulukyan Place-Names

Corresponding to all these classes of place-names we have place-names from Pre-Caulukya inscripitons.

Among names of deities, we have almost all the names after Siva such as Ankuleśvara, Kāyāvatāra, Mannātha, Nāndipurī, Lingatadāgikā, Lingavaṭaśiva, Vilīśvara, Sivabhāgapura - viṣaya, Sivatrātaïjja. Of these the oldest, going back to the 7th century is Kāyāvatāra, identified with Kārvān, near where Siva is said to have manifested himself.

All these names show definitely the antiquity and wide prevalence of Siva worship in Gujarat.

I do not know whether to class Bharukaccha or Bhrgukaccha and Akrureśvara or Ankuleśvara as names after deities or men. As I have said previously Bhrgukaccha appears but once, that too in a late 8th century inscription. Both it and Akrureśvara seem to be sanskritized forms of Bharukaccha and Ankuleśvara respectively. And the latter stands not for Akrura, a friend of Srī Krṣṇa, but most probably for Akula, which is one of the names of Siva. The ending -śvara also leads to the same conclusion, as it is usually an ending of names,

places, and temples connected with Siva. We should search at the present Ankleśvar and its vicinity for remains of an ancient Siva temple. For its discovery would give us one of the oldest monuments in Central Gujarat going back to the 6th century.

I have not been able to identify any place-names after tribes or peoples. But colonies or large $Br\bar{a}hmana$ and other settlements are indicated by three references to $Br\bar{a}hmana-pallik\bar{a}$ and $-sth\bar{a}na$, and $T\bar{a}pasa$ - and Purohita $-pallik\bar{a}$, showing that ending $-pall\bar{i}$ or $-pallik\bar{a}$ was used for denoting any settlement and not necessarily a cora (thief) or any low class settlement.

There are a large number of place-names after trees. Of these the majority are after *Vaṭa* or *Vaḍ*, the Banian or the Indian Fig tree. It is followed by a variety of endings, such as -draha, -gāma -nagara, -padra, -prājyaka, -thali, -valli. It is not strange that a village or any settlement should be founded under a Baniyan tree. For in India, it is one of the largest natural shelters, providing refuge to one and all. Many of the settlements, which were first temporary only, must have later grown into large villages or cities, retaining the or ginal name. Baroda, *Vaḍodarā*, the capital of Central Gujarat has its roots in one of such settlements of the 7th-8th century.

In one instance we have the place-name $Kum\bar{a}rivadao$ indicating the worship of $Kum\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ or $Durg\bar{a}$ at or under the Vata tree. In this ceremony a girl between 10 to 12 years old is placed on a pedestal as the representative of the goddess and fed with offerings to the idol.

Among other trees we have Amraka or āmbā (the mango), Jambu (rose-apple tree), Kadamba (Nanclea cadamba), a tree with orange coloured fragrant blossoms, Kāpitha (Feronia Elephantum), 'a tree on which monkeys dwell'; S'amī (Prosopis spicigera or Mimosa Suma), a tree with very tough, hard wood, supposed to contain fire; Pippala (Ficus Religiosa), the sacred Fig tree, and Udumbara (Ficus Glomerata) Vavula, the Babool tree.

I do not think that in Udumbara we have the reference to famous Audumbaras, a people mentioned in *Pāṇini* (IV. 2. 53.), MBH. II

¹ According to Przyluski, fA, 1926, 28-48 it is probably an Austric word; whereas the people lived along the ancient highway from Taxila to Pataliputra. fA, 1921, 3, and Motichandra, op. cit. 44-46.

(48. 12.) and coins. This (*Udambara*) as well as others are the most common trees in India, worshipped specially on certain occasions, and held in varying degrees of importance from time immemorial. As as far as Gujarat is concerned these trees constitute the chief flora of the country, particulary its northern and most of the central regions, the important exception being the Nim tree and the Tamarind tree.

In S'irīṣapadra and Kārañjavasahikā we have place - names after the flower S'irīṣa (Acacia Siriṣsa) and Karañja (Pongamia Glabra).

There is a solitary place-name after fruits in general, Phalahavadra, and similarly after the food grain $T\bar{a}ndula$ (rice). There is one after $S'arkar\bar{a}$ (sugar).

Place-names after purely natural sites include those having a sara, hrada, taḍāka, preceded by the name of a tree such as Jambu, or the reed or animal, hasti, nāga. Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa or -purī seems to be after an artificial bower of wood.

Place-names after birds and animals are few. One seems to be named after Kukkura, a dog, and Kukkuṭa, (= modern Kūkād, 9 miles s.w. of Hathab), a wild dog (or fowl). If not, they might stand for the settlements of mixed classes Kukkura and Kukkuṭa, the latter being the off-spring of a Niṣāda by a S'udra woman. Kukuras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, 48. 14, along with the Ambaṣṭhas Tārkṣyas, Vastrapas, Pāhlavas; they formed part of the ancient Vṛṣṇi gaṇa. 1

Whereas the interpretation of the above names is doubtful, there is no doubt of *Simhapallikā*-pura, and *Vagghāccha*, *Vyāghrāsa* and *Varāhagrāma*, the first being after the lion, the second and third after the tiger and the fourth after the boar.

In Kārpaṭavāṇijya, Lohigakakṣa and Suvarṇapallī, we have possibly names after traders dealing in rags which is the original meaning of Karpaṭa, (which incidentally is not an original Sanskrit word, but a loan word from the Austric, according to Dr. KATRE), and artisans or craftsman working in iron and gold respectively.

Among names after events I would note only *Harṣapura*. Does it commemmorate the visit of *Harṣa*, the famous emperor of N. India, in the 7th century to Gujarat?

¹ MOTICHANDRA identifies them with the Khokhar or Khokhur tribe of the Panjab. *JUPHS*, XVI, ii, 52.

The study of the endings or suffixes of place-names and their comparison with the endings of modern place-names as well as the interpretation of the names themselves has shown that a majority of the endings can be traced back to a very early period. For instance $P\bar{a}nini^1$ refers to "nagara, pura, grāma, kheṭa, ghoṣa, kula, suda, sthala, karṣa, tīra, rūpya, kaccha, agni, vaktra, garta, (all these used as an uttarapada in forming place-names), palāda, (meaning straw, weeds), arma, vaha, hrada, prastha, and kantha, supposed to be a Saka name for 'a city'."

Yet in different parts of Gujarat and Kathiawad certain endings predominate, for example vasaņa in N. Gujarat, and sthalī in Kathiawad.

That although these endings denoted originally a part of land, enclosure, a part of the village etc., either because these places had grown up or the endings had become part of the name itself, a second suffix, grāma, was added on to these names. Till about the 13th century these endings persisted. With the advent of Muslim rule a number of old places came to have new name ending in pura, or purā, or totally new places arose bearing such endings.

Antiquity of places as well as new cultural forces were reflected in the names themselves. Whereas in the older names the percentage of names of deities and persons was not much, a fairly large number being after trees, lakes or ponds, some after animals, the new placenames were mostly after persons or deities such as Siva (Mahādeva), Rāma, Hanumān, or later forms of Visnu (Ranachhod etc). This shows how gradually the cult of personal gods as well as the tendency to perpetuate the memory or eulogise an individual by naming a place after him grew. This tendency though natural has been a characteristic feature of Gujarat and Gujarātīs, as even a cursory census of names of houses owned by Gujarātīs and Deccanis in Bombay, Ahmadabad, and Poona, would show. The Gujarātīs being a largely business community incline to be more materialistic, and cannot think except in terms of money and their family, particularly the person who is supposed to be a fortune bringer, whereas the Deccanis can think of such abstract and idealistic names as Ardhavirāma, Samādhi, for their

¹ AGRAWALA, JUPHS, XVI, 42-44.

houses. To a Gujarātī even a small cottage is a Dhana or Mānekmahāl or prāsāda, and large house a 'nagar.'

Some of the older place-names as Kaccha, Bharukaccha, Sābarmatī, Dāngarwa have shown how characteristic they are of the physiography of certain regions of Gujarat. Whereas a further investigation into the names indicative of tribal migrations and colonisation would throw light on the ethnic composition of the population.

Names such as Vahichar have revealed the true antiquity of certain cults now prevalent in Gujarat.

Botanical and zoological names are few. This is not surprising considering the fact that though most of Gujarat is a rich alluvial plain, it cannot boast of a luxurious vegetation, except where special efforts are made to plant trees. So whatever names of trees inscriptions have provided are fairly representative of the botanical wealth of the country. Some more names of other trees will be had when place-names of the wooded regions of Southern and Central Gujarat will be studied. Inscriptions do not mention them because perhaps these areas did not directly fall within the then urban and rural expansion.

Gujarat zoology has nothing special to offer except perhaps the lion, whose name or of a person bearing such name, is probably enshrined in *Simhapura* or Sihor on the south-east coast of Kathiawad, whereas in *Vaggāchha* or *Vyāgrāsa* in Central Gujarat seems to be enshrined the tiger, even now found roaring in the forests of Rajpipla and other eastern regions of Gujarat.

The study of place-names alone thus gives us a glimpse of Gujarat: the land, and the people, and their cultural and physical environment.

APPENDIX I

CLASSIFIED LIST OF NAMES PROPER

(A) NAMES AFTER DEITIES

- (1) General Deüli-grāma, Deuli-vādā, Devāü-grāma, Deva-nagara.
- (2) Vedic Gods
 - (a) Indra India(?), if from Indra. Indra-vaḍa, Varaṇaka? (N. of Indra). (b) Varuna Varaṇa-vādā(?), Varuna-śarmakiyapadra(?)
- (3) Viṣṇu Satyapura (N. of Viṣṇu) as Satya-Nārāyaṇa(?) S.K. P. 1136. S'eṣadevati-grāma, Vāmana-sthali, Vāmana-pura. Mālakatarigrāma(?) (māla, a name of Viṣṇu, M.W. 813). Tāladhvaja (Balarāma, M.W. 445).
- (4) Siva Sivaliyā-grāma, Someśvara-paṭṭana. (Deva-nagara). Stambha-tīrtha, Kālhri(?) (cf. Kālhalī, M.W. 281) Kuśaloḍa (cf. Kuśala, a name of Siva, M.W. 297). Ghaṇṭāpalli (Ghaṇṭa, a name of Siva. Ghaṇṭa, a name of Siva's attendant. M.W. 375). Ghaṇṭelāṇā-grāma. Ghūṣaḍi, perhaps a local name of Siva, where later Vīrameśvara's temple was built, or the old temple was so called. Munda-sthala (Munda, applied to Siva, M.W. 822).
- (5) Sūrya Sūryaja, Modherā (cf. Muṇḍāra, n. of a place where the Sun is worshipped. M.W. 822). Bhāmṣara (Bhāskar, is it from Bhāskara? PK. Bhakkara. V. 18.)
- (6) Candra Candrāvatī, Candrāpalli.
- (7) Goddesses Viṣṇu's consort Lakṣmī Indilā (Indirā. M.W. 164).

(B) NAMES AFTER MEN AND WOMEN

- (1) General (after general designation).

 Rājapurī, Rājasiyani, Rānāvādā, Rāneloya,
- (2) Personal
 Anahilla-pāṭaka, Āśāpalli, Bhojuyā, Dhavalakka, Hānisalapura, Mahā-Hānisalapura, Līlāpura, Nandāvasaṇa, Prasanna-pura (?), Rupāpura, Sahaja-vasaṇa, Sāhilavāḍā, Salakhaṇapura, Sākli, Sihaka, Sūnaka, Varuṇaśarnımakiyapadra.

APPENDIX I

(C) NAMES AFTER TRIBES OR PEOPLES OR GROUPS OF PEOPLE

(1) Tribes or Peoples

Ahirāṇa, Dāsayaja, Gunjaramaṇḍala, Haṇḍāüdra, Kīrātakūpa, Mahimṣaka, Mahisāṇā, Muṇḍasthala, Naṭāüli, Saṇḍesara(?), Saṇḍera, Tāladhvaja.

(2) Groups & Professions

Bānibhaṇavāḍā, Brahmapurī, Brhamāṇa, Coruyāvāḍā, Dheḍavasaṇa-grāma, Kamboïkā, Kulāvasaṇa, Kumbhārotaka Lundā-vasaṇa, Mālakatari(?)

(3) Spirits etc.

Bhuhardā (Bhutwāḍa)(?), Sandera (N. of a serpent demon).

(D) NAMES AFTER TREES, FLOWERS, REEDS AND GRASSES

(1) Trees

Nilachhā (Nilki)=(1) Dark Leaves. (2) Date Tree.

S'āla-grāma,

Varanavādā (varana=Aśvattha tree).

Vadasara.

Tāladhvaja.

(2) Flowers

Phulasara.

(3) Reeds & Grasses

Darbhāvatī (Dabhoï).

Gundāüka (1) Gundā, a kind of reed.

(2) Gundaka, dust, powder.

Ițilā Ita—a kind of grass, a structure woven from it.

Karīra

(1) a kind of bamboo.

(2) a thorny plant growing in deserts and fed upon by camels.

(3) a cricket, a grass hopper.

Kadā

kadā, straw.

Kāśahrada

a Kāśa, a species of grass saccharum.

Kāsa, a kind of root.

Naddulatadāgikā (Nādol).

Natāüli.

(4) Food Grains

Dāngariiā (Dāngarwā), Dāngarī, Dingarī,

 $Kad\bar{a}$ ($Kad\bar{a}$), the stalks of various sorts of pulse.

Kamboïkā (Kamboï), Kambūka, the husk of rice.

Khandohaka (Khandaka), a treacle, or molasses, cane sugar.

Masūra (1) A kind of lentil, (2) a pillow, (3) a harlot.

(E) NAMES AFTER FOODS AND DRINKS

Dadhimatīnadī, Dadhipadra (Dāhod), Dudhukhā, Ksārvā (Khārvā).

(F) NAMES AFTER SITES

- (a) Natural Physical Features. (b) Artificial.
- (a) Godrahaka (Godharā).1

Gunthāvādā

- (1) Guntha, to make dusty.
- (2) Deśī, a low type of horse.
- (3) Crafty.
- (4) to enclose.

Ιlã

(1) earth, (2) flow (3) speech.

Kāśahrada-grāma, Nāgasārikā, Navasārī, Phulasara, Prajharikā, Samadhiala (Junction, boundary, crevice), Sangamakheṭaka (Sankheḍā) Sanḍera (sanḍa = a group of trees, plants, woods, thicket). Vadasara.

(b) Artificial

 \bar{A} nganavā $d\bar{a} = a$ court yard (cf. Gujarātī "ang (a) no).

Itilā a grass structure.

Torangrāma=Toranā (1) a mound near a bathing place. (2) an arch.

 $Umta\ddot{u}ya$ (Utwa) = uta = leaves, grass.

utaja = a hut made of leaves, a house in general.

- (G) Names after Birds, Animals
 - (a) Birds Kurali, kurala, an ospray.
 - (b) Animals Undira (Udra or Undra) (?) (Eludura = rat). *Umtauyā* (Utma)? (camel?).
 - (c) Nāgasārikā.
- (H) Names after Articles of Trade Metal etc

Haniyāni Kāmbali,

- (I) Names after Events
 - (a) Place-names after Auspicious or Pleasant Events

Aithora (Arthapura?), Ānandapura, Ānanda-nagara, Bhadrānaka (Bharāṇā), Dhanora (Dhanapura?), Kāliyāṇā (Kaliana), Maṅgalapura (Maṅgrol), Rāigrāma, = Rāī (i) barking, noisy.

(ii) rich, prosperous.

¹ The word Godhara (Godhra) occurs in Kumaun and Garhwal to mean a cistern, a spring with a masonry duct. S. K. C.

APPENDIX I

PRE-CAULUKYAN PLACE-NAMES

I. NAMES OF PERSONS: (a) Names of Deities,

(b) Names of men & women.

(a) Names after Deities

Gurjjara Kāyāvatāra (Karvān?) cf. Kāyārohaņa & Kāyāvarohaņa

Mannātha. Nāndīpuri.

Nanaipari

Cāhamāna Arjunadevigrāma. cf. Arjuna N. of Indra. M.W. 90.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Liṅgataḍāgika (S'aṅkartalao)

Caul. Lāṭa Liṅgavaṭaśiva

Villiśvar (Balesvara), Bilīsvara, N. of a place for pilgrimage

perhaps w.r. for *Bilveśvara*. Bilva (later also Vilva, M.W. 932.)

Maitraka Sivabhāgapura-visaya.

S'ivatrātaijja.

(b) Names after Men and Women

Kaṭaccuri Bharukaccha (EI, VI. 297) Baruka name of prince. Name of a

country or a people, Mbh. M.W. 748.

Sangamasinha (EI, X, 272).

Gurjjara Akrureśvara (IA, XIII. 82; XIII. 81, 87, 88, 115; IA, V, 114,

IA, VIII. 61; VII. 183; XIII. 86; 115.

Cāhamāṇa Bhṛugukaccha

Bhṛugukaccha EI, XII. 202. Aṅkuleśvara IA, XIII. 69.

Bharukaccha IA, V. 147; XII. 185.

Harsapura

Maitraka Bharukaccha IA, XV. 338.

Tāpasapallikā.

II. NAMES AFTER GROUPS OF PEOPLE: PROFESSION

Rāstrakūta (i) Brāhmaņapallikā.

(ii) -do- in Mahisakavisaya.

Traikūtaka Purohitapallikā.

NAMES AFTER TREES, FLOWERS, REEDS AND GRASSES

(A) After Trees

Rāstrakūta

Traikūtaka Āmraka-grāma

Kaṭaccūri Kumārivaḍao (worship of Kumari or Durgā, when a girl between

10 and 12 years old is placed on a pedestal as the goddess's representative and fed with offerings made to the idol. M.W.292

Gurijara Jambusara

Samīpadraka. The Samī tree.

(Tathā) Umbara.

Guj.Cāl.

Jambusara S'amīpadraka.

Rāstrakūta

Ambapāṭaka, Ambakagrāma, Jambusara, Jambusārikā, Kāpitha,

Kapittha "on which monkeys dwell".

Pippalāchcha Vaḍḍavalli (i) the sacred Fig tree, (ii) a kind of bird.

Vaṭanagara Vaṭapadraka Vaḍapadraka Vāṭa, the Banyan or Indian Fig Tree.

Vavulāla-grāma Calukyas of Lāṭa (Baboolgrāma). Vaṭapadra

Viliśvara.

Lingavațasiva (Lingād).

Maitraka

Kadambapadraka. Pippalarumkhāri(?), Samipadraka Udumbaragahvara (See Umbara above), Vatadraha, Vatagāma, Vata-

numeka, Vataprajyaka, Vatasthali.

(B) AFTER FLOWERS AND FRUITS

Gurjjara

Sirīsapadra

Rāṣṭrakūṭa

Kārañja-vasahikā. (Name of an enemy of Indra, M.W. 254).

Fruit

Gurjjara

Phalahavadra (Phalod)

(C) AFTER REEDS AND GRASSES

Rāṣṭrakūṭa

Kāśadraha, Kaśahrada.

Maitraka

Kāśahrada.

Kasaundra

(D) AFTER FOODS GRAINS

Tandulapadraka, Tandula (grain after thrashing and winnowing,

esp. rice.

Taṇḍulikāśrama, N. of a Tīrtha. M. W. 432.

(E) AFTER FOODS AND DRINKS

Gurijara

Ksīrasara.

Maitraka

Sarkarāpadraka.

APPENDIX I

(F) AFTER SITES

(a) Natural, (b) artificial.

(a) Natural -Lakes and Ponds.

Traikūtaka

Kanivastadākasarikā

Santilla Gurjjara *Guj.Cāl.* Pāsṇihrada. Iambusaras

Ksīrasara

Navasārikā

Maitraka Hastihradaka, Jambusara, Kāśahrada, Madasara, Vatahrada.

Rāstrakūta

Kāśad aha, Kāśahrada, Lingatadāgikā, Nāgasārikā.

(b) Artificial—

Kāsthamandapa, Kāsthapurī.

(F) NAMES AFTER BIRDS, ANIMALS ETC.

Gurjjara

Kukkūtavallikā.

Maitraka

Kukkūrāņaka. Kukkura, a dog, a despicable man of mixed caste,

name of a people, Mbh. ii. 1872.

Kukkuṭa—A wild cock, an onomatopoe word imitating the cock's cry; the plant Marsilla; the offs ring of a Niṣāda by a

Sudra woman; name of a pot herb.

NAMES OF ANIMALS

Maitraka

Simhapallikā-pathaka

Simhapura (Sihor)

Rāstrakūta

Vagghāccha (Vāghodia) Vyāghrāsa (Vaghas)

Varāhagrāma (Vargaon)

Nāgasārīkā.

(G) NAMES AFTER ARTICLES OF TRADE ETC.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa

Kārpaṭavāṇijya (Kapadvanj)

Gurjjara

Lohigakakşa. Suvarna-palli

Rāstrakūta

-do-

(H) NAMES AFTER EVENTS (Auspicious)

Kataccuri

Ānandapura

Maitraka

Ānandapura

Gurjjara Rāstrakūţa Srāddhikā. Harşapura

Guj.Cāl.

Vijaya-Aniruddhapura

Vijayapura.

IX. PLACE NAMES AFTER CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

Kataccuri

Kumārivadao.

Lecture IV

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Cultural significance of personal names is the theme of this lecture. I have already pointed out how even our present day names are significant, and their study to a future student of the 20th century culture will reveal the various factors—political and cultural—which are current during our time. Work of such a type dealing with the early peoples of Gujarat or any part of India has not been done. Though the works on Indian castes are many, perhaps a legion as M.M. Kane thinks, still the major works may be classified into the following groups.

Surveys of Castes and Tribes

Dr. Ghurye has shown that as early as the 4th century B. C., Megesthenes, the Greek ambassador in the court of Candragupta Maurya was struck by the caste system in Indian social organization. Since then it has been drawing the attention of travellers, administrators, and students of literature. But "the application of the sociological method to the explanation of cases i.e., a systematic attempt to elucidate the genesis and growth of the institution of caste, by a comprehensive study may be said to begin with the works of Denzil IBBETSON and J. C. NEIFIELD." These works were published in 1884 and 1885 respectively. Earlier still we had the works of Wilson on Indian Castes, and Sherring on Hindu Tribes and Costes. Thus we have in the last 50 years, due to the efforts of these and other scholars like Crooke, RISLEY, RUSSEL, THURSTON, RANGACHARIAR, Anantakrishna IYER, and ENTHOVEN, fairly good accounts of the castes and sub-castes of the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Pengal, the Central Provinces, South India, Mysore and Gujarat. Whereas these are mostly records of the existing castes, RISLEY, GHURYE, and CROOKE also based their conclusions on the authropological measurements of some of the castes and sub-castes, particularly of Bengal. This work is now followed up to some extent by the Census Commissions.

Correlation of these materials with the old literary accounts has been attempted by Senart, Ghurye and others, while Weber, Ketkar, Dutt, Rao and Kane have traced the development of the caste through early Vedic literature, Sūtras, Smṛtis, Dharmaśāstras, and later Nibandhakāras.

Inscriptions as dated, genuine, sources of ethnographical material were recognized by early epigraphists. Occasional references to these were made by Fleet, Buehler, and Kielhorn, but more by D. R. Bhandarkar who propounded several theories. Ghurye and Kane have also made some use of the epigraphic material in their works. But so far there has been no attempt to study the inscriptions of a region from the earliest historical times to the modern with a view to collating the purely ethnographical material and personal names and correlate these with the existing data.

I have not been able to do the work of correlation (of the epigraphic and the modern) as it should be done. This is for want of modern data. Since the publication of Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of the Bombay Presidency*, the School of Economics and Sociology have undertaken a few regional studies. These include "Social and Ethnic Study of the Chitpavan Brahmins, "The Vadnagara Brahmins of Gujarat," "the Dasa Srimali Jains of Kathiawad" and two or three aboriginal tribes in the Presidency.

Nature of Epigraphic Material

I am not attempting anything of this kind. My object is to present a study of the material collected from inscriptions which will be useful for any future study of the present-day castes in Gujarat. The material presented by the inscriptions is neither exhaustive nor of a uniform nature for all the periods.

For about 800 years, from 300 B. C.-500 A. D., the inscriptions give nothing but the names of rulers, and very rarely of those of the ruled. Subsequent inscriptions—those of the *Traihūṭakas* and *Kaṭac-cūris*—mention besides names of kings some details about the *Brāhmaṇa* donees.

Things improve with the Gurjjara, Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Maitraka, and Paramāra records. Herein we get more details about Brāhmaṇas: theirs and their fathers' names, their Gotra and Vedic S'ākhā and the

place from which they emigrated, called *Vinirgata* in inscriptions, and the place where they had settled down (*nivāsita*).

Very few names of *Brāhmaṇas* occur in the later Caulukya inscriptions, but they contain names of ministers and other residents of the realm, which give some insight into the names of people other than *Brāhmaṇas*. Since we cannot complain about the epigraphical material we have got to make the best use of it possible.

Names proper and the suffixes, *upapada* as *Pāṇini* terms a suffix, have a special significance in the cultural and ethnological evolution of Indian castes.

Naming of Children

In India, as is well known, names are not given, except in ultramodern families, to new-born children haphazardly. There is a whole ceremonyattached to the naming of a child, called *nāmasaniskarana*, when

- (i) the child is given a name after a particular $r\bar{a}si$ beginning with a certain letter,
- (ii) among certain Gujarati castes by father's sister, called phoi,
- (iii) so many days after birth.

This is not a new-fangled thing, but that its roots go back to Rgvedic times has been very well shown by Kane¹. He has pointed out how the original practice underwent certain modifications from time to time and which are noted in the literature of that period. Unfortunately these respective literary sources cannot be so well dated ror their provenance fixed as those of the inscriptions with which we are dealing. So by a comparison of the epigraphical data with the literary, we may at least fix the latest date and the areas in which the customs and practices described in literature were followed. It would appear from Kane's study that the literary data about naming falls into three or four distinct periods.

The first is the Vedic period, embracing the evidence from the Rgveda downwards to all the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

The second is the $S\bar{u}tra$ period, a period when the various Grhya $S\bar{u}tras$ came into existence and laid down rules for $f\bar{a}takarma$, naming, marriage, etc.

[&]quot; "Naming of a child or a person", IHQ, XIV (1938), 224-44.

The third may be called the *Smṛti* and the fourth post-*Smṛti* period, the last ending about 1300 A.D.

Vedic Period

In Vedic period it would appear that a man had at least two names. One of these was supposed to be secret (*guhya*), known to the parents only. Instances of persons having three or four names are also found. No details as to when and how these names are to be given are prescribed. But an analysis of the various examples would show that

- (i) Usually a person in Vedic literature is referred to by two names. One of them was
 - (a) his own name, and the other either
 - (b) his gotra name, or
 - (c) patronymic or sometimes (rarely) matronymic
- (ii) at times when three names are mentioned, either one of these is his own name, the second his *nakṣatra* name and the third was given for his performance of a sacrifice, or the first was a person's ordinary name, the second a derivative from his father's name and the last derived from his *gotra*.

Very few instances have been noted in which any of these names is directly after a Vedic deity, like Indra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan. For there was a rule that abhivādanīya names (i.e. names given to a śiṣya at the time of his upanayana by the teacher) should be derived from deities. "From the times of Tai. S.¹ different presiding deities had been assigned to the nakṣatras"; e.g. (Kṛttikās had Agni, Rohiṇī Prajāpati, Ārdrā Rudra etc.)

Sutra Period

More specific details about naming are given by the Grhya $S\bar{u}tras$. From the nature of the details given, they may be grouped into three classes.

The first class represented by the <code>_Iśvalāyana,²</code> and the <code>_Ipastamba³</code> Grhya Sūtras tell us that after or on the 10th day

¹ Tai S IV. 4. 10. Of course, in some cases more than one god is assigned to one Naksatra, and different Naksatras have the same gods.

² I. 13. 1 and 4-9. KANE, op. cit. 229.

VI. 15. 1-3. KANE, Ibid.

- (1) a son be given a name, beginning with
- (a) a sonant, semi-vowel in the middle, and visurga at its end, and consisting either of 2 or 4 syllables: 2 for firm position, 4 for spiritual glory.
- (b) the first part of the name being a noun, the second part a verb;
- (c) another name after a naksatra, which was to be secret.
- (2) a daughter be given a name of uneven syllables.

In the second class we have *Hirnyakesī*, ¹ *Bhāradvāja*, ² Gobhila, ³ *Sankhāyana*, ⁴ *Baudhāyana*, ⁵ *Khāāira*, ⁶ and *Mānava*. ⁷

According to some of these a secret name may be given at the time of birth, and the other after 10 days, 12 days, 100 days or a year. This latter, according to the *Gobhila*, must be a word ending in a *krt* termination and must not be *taddhita*. Another name is given at the *upanayana* by the teacher. This must be derived from a deity, or a *nakyatra*, or his *gotra*. (II. 10.21).

The Mānava definitely lays down that the name should not be directly that of a deity.

The girl's name, Gobhila and Mānava specify, should end in $d\bar{a}$.

The third class consisting of Pāraśara⁸ and Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya S'eṣa Sūtra,⁹ besides laying down that

- (i) nāmakaraṇa should be on the 10th or 12th day,
- (ii) one name after nakṣatra, and the second at upanayana, add that a Brahmāṇa's name should end in śarman,

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Kṣatriya's —do— varman
Vaiśya's —do— gupta
S'ūdra's —do— bhṛtya or dāsa.
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<sup>1</sup> II. 14. 10-15, KANE, Ibid. 232.
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² I. 26. *Ibid*.

³ II. 7. 15; II. 8. 14-16; II. 10.21. *Ibid*. 230.

^{&#}x27; Sutra 267. I. 24. 4-6. Ibid. 233.

^{1. 24.} Ibid. 231.

II. 2.30-31; 3.6 ard 10-12 and 4.12. Ibid., 231.

^{1. 18. 1-2.} Ibid. 233.

⁻ I. 17. Ibid. 232.

⁴ I. 11. 4-18. Ibid 234.

A girl's name should have an uneven number of syllables and have a taddhita suffix, or end in a long vowel.

Lastly the $V\bar{a}r\bar{a}ha$ -Grhva- $S\bar{u}tra^1$ lays down that a father's name should be avoided and a girl's name should not be after a river, nak-satra, the moon, the sun, $P\bar{u}san$ or should not be a name ending in raksita or $datt\bar{a}$ preceded by the name of a deity. This latter injunction is also found in Manu. I should not be surprised if this injunction was intended to stop the practice started by new converts to Buddhism. For among them, as evidenced by early inscriptions, such names are found.

In *Pāṇini's* time names after *nakṣatras* were common, as is evident from the rules he lays down. ⁴

Thus the *Sūtra* literature itself shows a development of the Naming formulae, indicative of and reflecting perhaps the changing social fashion. Why and of what exact period we shall investigate later.

Smrti Period

"Manu omits," as Kane has tersely pointed out, "all these elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, makes no reference to the *nakṣatra* name or *abhivādanīya* given to a boy, but gives two simple rules:

- 1) The name of a *Brāhmaṇa* should be indicative of a *maṅgala*; of a *Kṣatriya* strength, of a *Vaisya* wealth and of *Sūdra* lowness.
- 2) To the name of a *Brāhmaṇa* an *upapada* (suffix) should be joined indicating śarman (happiness or blessing); of a king an *upapada* connected with protection; of a *Vaiśya* indicating prosperity and of a *Sūdra* indicating dependence or service.

Manu thus seems to enlarge upon the *Pārāśara* and *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya Sūtras* about the *upapadas*, and adds new facts about the name proper.

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<sup>1</sup> III 1-3. Ibid., 233.
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⁴ III. o. Ibid.

See Sannalia, "Cultural Significance of Personal Names in the Inscriptions of Deccan" BDCRI, 3, 349-91.

¹ IV. 3. 34. 36, KANE, op. cit. 236.

^{*} IHQ, 1938, 238.

Nibandha Period

Centuries later the $Mit\bar{a}k\bar{s}ar\bar{a}$, a commentary on the $Y\bar{a}j\bar{n}avalkya$ Smrti quotes Sankha, who says that a father should give a name connected with a family deity.¹

Lastly we should note the practice advocated by mediaeval works on $\Im yotiṣa$. According to it "each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into 4 $p\bar{a}das$, and to each $p\bar{a}da$ of a nakṣatra a specific letter is assigned (e.g. $c\bar{u}$, ce, cu, and $l\bar{a}$ for the 4 $p\bar{a}das$ of $A\acute{s}vin\bar{\imath}$ from which a person born in a particular $p\bar{a}da$ of $A\acute{s}vini$ was called either $Cud\bar{a}mani$, $Cedi\acute{s}a$, $Cole\acute{s}a$ Lakṣmaṇa." Though this practice is disapproved by a late work like Dharmasindhu (1790 A. D.), it survives among some of the $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}$ castes, where names are given after letters of the person's $ra\acute{s}i$. 3

The inscriptions provide dated evidence. When this s compared with the above type of evidence we can at once note the changes in social fashions, its adherence to the $S\bar{a}stra$ or canonical and the latest date for the literary evidence.

In discussing this material period by period, or dynasty by dynasty, I would first take up the names of the members of different dynasties themselves, and then of other people mentioned in inscriptions.

Names of Members of Royal Families

The Girnar edicts of Aśoka have to be left out completely, as they do not mention any names pertaining to Gujarat. But of the rulers over Surāṣṭra during this period a reference is made in the inscription of Rudradāman. These rulers (a governor or viceroy, rāṣṭriya) of Candragupta and Aśoka were respectively Vaiśya Puṣyagupta and Yavana Tuṣāṣpha. Puṣyagupta, who is definitely called a Vaiśya, might be some relative of Candragupta. In that case it would show that he too did not originally belong to a Kṣatriya family. Viṣṇu Purāṇā gives gupta as a Vaiṣya suffix. But since Tuṣāṣpha is definitely an Iranian

¹ Ibid, 235. My colleague, Dr. Iravati KARVE, kindly informs me that this practice is followed in *Mahāraṣṭra*. Thus, among a Karmarkar family, all boys are named after S iva.

² IHQ, XV, 238.

It would appear that this practice was known in Mahārāṣṭra in the 11th-12th century. For Srī Ŧñāneśvara in his Ṭñāneśvarī, while singing the praises of god Gaṇapati, at the beginning of Adhyāya 17, says that his (god's) Rāšināmva was Mauna.

name (cf. *Viṣṭāśva* (Hyastaspes), and *Caispiś* (Teispes) the names of Darius' (*Dārāyava* (h) us) father, and great grand-father respectively) it would either mean that the term 'Yavana' was applied to all foreigners from beyond the northwest frontier, or that *Tuṣāspha*, though originally an Iranian, and retaining this characteristic name, had become a naturalised Indian.

Why should a Yavana—Greek or Iranian—be put in charge of Surāṣṭra by Aśoka? The explanation is to be found in the fact that just 50 years previous to the Mauryan occupation of Surāṣṭra, parts of north-western and western India, including perhaps Sind and Surāṣṭra, were under the hegemony of the Iranian emperor Darius and his successors. Either a number of Persians or Iranians had come and settled down in these newly conquered or controlled territories and so an Iranian was sent down as their governor or merely an Iranian was appointed to this new province. When the Mauryas conquered Surāṣṭra they found for some reasons, necessary or convenient, to continue this practice. Viewed under this political background, the term 'Yavana' might more probably connote any northwestern foreigner and not necessarily an Ionian Greek.

It has been shown¹ that the governors during the subsequent dynasties -Sāka Ksatrapas and Guptas-viz. Suvišākha and Parnadatta and Cakrapālita respectively were Iranians. Cakrapālita means 'one protected by the disc (bearer)', i.e. devotee of Visnu, a name adopted after this person became a Vaisnava (Hindu). But his father's name Parnadatta vields no sensible meaning, and seems to be "an Indianization of an Iranian name Farna-dāta, which representing an old Iranian name Xvarenodāta, would mean 'created by Majesty'; a name of the same type as Ahura-dāta." Such a long tradition of no less than 700 years of Iranian rulers over Surāstra, if really true, might imply a settlement of Iranians somewhere in Kathiawad. And Dr. Moti CHANDRA² has rightly suggested that we should search for this in the Junagadh State. For aught we know, the descendants of Tusāspha, Suviśākha, Parnadatta, and Cakrapālita might still be surviving! Of course under some Indian names. For the names themselves are after the Hindu gods—Kārttikeya and Visnu.

¹ See J. Charpentier $\mathcal{J}RAS$, , 1928, 904-5.

² Nāgarī-Pracāriņī Patrikā, Vikrama Samvat 2000, 184.

Ksatrapa

The names of the Kṣatrapa rulers themselves show how gradually they were Indianized and the religions they professed or patronized, and were popular during their period. We are explicitly told that they were Sakas.

The name of the first ruler *Castana* is purely non-Indian, whereas the names of the subsequent rulers, about 29 in all, have either the first or second or both parts of their names in Sanskrit.

The first parts of the name are either

- i) after the name of a deity-Rudra,
- ii) after a name connoting victory, glory, valour, (Jaya, V-ra, Yaśodāmā or Vijaya-sena).
- iii) After a name connoting virtue—Satya-aaman.
- iv) —do— dominion—e.g. Prthivī, and Visva.

The second part has either

(i) dāman, (ii) simha, (iii) sena, (iv) ghsada (or śrī).

Rudra as the first member of their names suggests that all these rulers at least were either devotees of Rudra, or patronized the cult of this god. Names of other deities—Viṣṇu for instance—are conspicuous by their absence, unless Satya, appearing twice stands for Viṣṇu, one of whose epithets was Satya. ¹

The rest of the first members of the names together with the second parts show that these foreigners had adopted names which would befit their war-like profession and wanted them to be or were regarded as *Kṣatriyas*. For the suffixes *sena* and *simha* have been included in the works assigned to the pre-Christian era as suffixes applicable to names of *Kṣatriyas* only.

The suffix dāman though Sanskrit or Sanskritized is rarely met in earlier or later literature and epigraphs and seems to be part of the original Saka name. Though Konow has taken it to be a Sanskrit name, it may have been originally derived, as Rapson² has pointed out, from the suffix dames. The only Indian names which I can recall are those

- ² This epithet is supposed to be late.
- RAPSON, CAA. Introduction, p. c.

Dāman is common in Bengali; it has given a surname in modern Bengal. Surnames of castes other than the Brahmana were mostly the second elements in compounded names, e.g. gubta, dutta, āduya, or ātea, āte, candra, candra, chera, pālita, etc. We have dāman in two forms—the Sanskrit dāma, dām and the proper NIA form dā (दा), anglicised as Dawn, S. K. C.

of Sudāmā, a friend of Srī Kṛṣṇa, and of Kṛṣṇa himself. If, however, the word dāman is Sanskrit, it must have been used in the sense of "connection with, tie with, i.e. devotee of Rudra, Satya, Simha etc.," an application of the word which seems to have died out later.

This knowledge derived from the names of Saka Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Malwa is in general accordance with what we can gather from monuments and coins, and early literature. Though other Brāhmānic faiths were current, that of Siva was the most popular and widespread. And among his names and forms Rudra and Siva were most common, and the names of his son Suviṣākha, Skanda or Kārttikeya,¹ but not so much Sambhu or Maheśa. So far none of the early inscriptions, even from other parts of India, mention these names. Next came Viṣṇu and other Vedic gods, Varuṇa and Vāsava, and names of constellations etc. and the non-Aryan names in Nāga and Sarpa. Those who had embraced Buddhism or Jainism adopted names showing devotion to Buddha, or the Buddhist triad, and Jaina Tīrthankaras. And it appears that at least one of the Kṣatrapa rulers, the second son of Rudrasinha I, viz., Sanghadāman, took to Buddhism, as the word sangha implies.

Gupta

The names of the Gupta kings, Skandagupta and others have already been commented upon showing their partiality for the war-god Skanda or *Kārttikeya*.

Traikutaka

Names of only three *Traikūṭaka* kings have been known viz., Indradatta, Dahrasena, *Vyāghrasena*. Ordinarily *datta*² is not a suffix which is applied to names of *Kṣatriyas*. And as this—perhaps the first member of the family—is not supposed to have ruled, it is not impossible, as suggested by the suffix, that the family was originally non-*Kṣatriya*. The name of second member, Dahrasena, does not yield a satisfactory sense. *Dahra* means 'small, fine, thin; the cavity of the heart' and when

¹ Jarl Charpentier, JRAS, 1923. 902-05.

² The statement is made advisedly. For names of rulers, e.g., Bhagadatta of $Pr\bar{a}g$ -jyotişa, do have this suffix. But in all these cases, it is worth inquiring into the original Varya of the family.

compounded with 'agni' is said to stand for Agastya in a former birth 1

Kataccuri

Each one of the names of three *Kaṭaccūri* Kings, *Kṛṣṇarāya*, *S'aṅkara-gaṇa*, and Buddharaja, as the first member of their names suggests, would be a devotee of gods *Viṣṇu*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Siva* and Buddha respectively. Such an eclecticism in the family is not borne out by their own profession of their faith. For in their inscriptions *Kṛṣṇarāya* is said to be solely devoted to *Paśupati*. But just as in these records we get the earliest epigraphical allusions to *Pāśupata* form of *Siva*, so it appears that in the name *Saṅkaragaṇa* we have perhaps the first epigraphical mention of the name *Saṅkara*.

Gurjjara

The cultural significance of the word "Dadda" appearing thrice as the name of the Gurijara Kings of Broach and the birudas (titles) Vītarāga and Praśāntarāga has already been noted by me before.

The name "Dadda," "Duddā" or even "Duḍḍā" cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root like dā. Nor are these names four 1 in any Sanskrit or Prakrit dictionary. But it is possible that they have been derived from the Sanskrit Dordara, meaning a mountain, or region having holes or ravines. Such a region and person named after it seems to be implied in the names 'Daddarapabbata' and 'Mahādaddara' mentioned in the Daddara Jātaka.² This Daddarapabbata can be no other than the mountainous tract of Dardistan, lying to the north-west of Kashmir, and south of Little Pamir. Since the river Sindhu after rising in the Himalayas near Tibet flowed through this country, Pāṇini calls it Dāradī Sindhuḥ, while prescribing the name of a river in accordance with its source. The people of this tract, Daradas, are mentioned separately along with the foreign tribes which sprang up with the Yavanas, Mlecchas and Sakas, from the cow Kāmadhenu, according to the

¹ Monier-Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, 1809, 473.

Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I, p. 1055. I am indebted to Dr. Katre for suggesting this derivation.

AGRAWAJA, "Geographical Data in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī", JUPHS, 16.1.19.

Mahābhārata, (a passage which is included in the Critical Edition¹), when she was being forcibly driven away from Vaśiṣṭha's āśrama by Viśvāmitra. The derivation of the words "Dadda" etc. from a Sanskrit Darda, if accepted, will fit in well with the theory of the foreign origin of the Gurijaras. The latter might signify their nomadic habits and profession, the former, Daradas or Dadda, their original habitat.

Philologically there is nothing strange in the epithets Vītarāga and Praśāntarāga. These are perfect Sanskrit expressions. But their use in ordinary parlance is so rare, while with the Jains they are commonly applied to their Tīrthaṅkaras and others highly spiritual souls, that I am tempted to suggest that these epithets perhaps reveal the patronage of Jainism by these early Gurijara kings. From early times we know that this religion flourished at Broach but these epithets, interpreted in this way, show incidentally its prevalence in and around Broach during this period.

Calukyas

In the names and epithets of *Cālukya* Kings of *Navasārikā*, I would note the use of the word *āśraya* (*Dharāśraya*), *Jayāśraya* for the usual word *dhara*. They seem to have introduced this word and made their own as part of the epithet.

Cahamana

The solitary inscription of the Cāhamānas of Broach gives six names, five of which deserve notice. In Maheśvara and Hara-dāman we get the well-known epithets of Siva. Dhruvabhaṭadeva reminds us of a similar name among the Maitrakas of Valabhā, and both bharty in Bhartrvaḍḍha and dāman recall similar first member and the suffix among the Sakas of Surāṣṭra and Malwa. Do these affinities in names point to the former common origin of these families of Western Indie, as it has been already suggested on other grounds?

Rastrakuta

No trace of this foreign element is seen in the names of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭaʰ kings of the Deccan and Karṇāṭaka which ruled over Gujarat

¹ Adi Parva, adhvaya 175.

for nearly 400 years. Some members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family bore names and epithets such Naṇṇa, Boḍḍiga, Khoṭṭiga which shows the Kannada influence, either due to their long contact with Karṇāṭaka or because they were partly or wholly of Kannada origin.

Only one member—Sankaragana—bears a Saiva name, while the names Indra, Krsna and Govinda are repeated three or four times. In this of course the custom, prescribed by the S'āstras of naming a child after the forefather's name was followed. I shall deal with it in detail later. The Rāstrakūtas may also be credited with giving us the names or epithets ending in varsa (Amoghavarsa, Akalavarsa), then the names beginning with Danti (Dantivarmā, which remind us of Dantavaktra of the Mahābhārata) and Karka or Kakka. The last might be a naksatra name. Whether they have anything to do with the Kannada contact or not, and how far these names have left their mark on the culture of the region I cannot say. Among the names of rulers of India, ancient and early mediaeval, they seem to be unique and appear to have been given currency for the first time. None of the other Rāstrakūta families, ruling over parts of Central and Northern India have the names in varsa, though once the name Karkarāja, and names beginning with Nanna are found. 1 In spite of dynastic individualities, the names fall into patterns such as sena, simha, deva, āditva, gupta, rāja, varddhana, pāla, to which the names of the Rāstrakūta and one or two other dynasties form an exception. If they (the Rāstrakūta names) have influenced the subsequent culture, it may be discovered by studying the names of present Karnātakīs (Kannadigas).

Of the names of the few $Param\bar{a}ra$ kings, one has the name or biruda $V\bar{o}kpati$, showing that much before his famous descendant Bhoja, one of the rulers of Malwa had this name, either because he was a literati, or patron of learning, a quality which descended through his family and burst forth in a blaze of light through Bhoja, or $V\bar{a}kpati$ Munja.

Lata Calukya

Of the six rulers of the $L\bar{a}tc$ $C\bar{a}lukya$ family, five have the suffix $r\bar{a}ja$, and one $p\bar{a}la$, whereas the names $B\bar{a}rappa$ and Goggi, are not

See BHANDARKAR, "Genealogical Lists of Various Dynasties Inscriptions of Northern India," EI, XIX to XXIII, Appendix, 401-3. and Sewell and Atyang & The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.

Sanskrit and may yield some information on the original habitat or early family relations of this dynasty.

Maitraka

The names of the Maitraka dynasty of *Valabhī* show that the family used the suffixes *sena*, *simha*, and *āditya*, and once or twice *bhaṭṭa* and *graha*, of which *āditya* is the most common. Has it anything to do with the popular tradition that *Valabhī* rulers were worshippers of the Sun, and had a *yajñakuṇḍa*, which was defiled and hence the family perished? Of course their epigraphs declare openly one king, *Dharapaṭṭa* (*bhaṭṭa*?) as a devotee of the Sun.

Capa

I would note only two names of the small feudatory family of the $C\bar{a}pas$ at Wadhwan. While the inscription calls them $C\bar{a}pas$, the names $Pulake\acute{s}i$ which is definitely Kannada and $Dharanivar\bar{a}ha$ recall the famous $Pulake\acute{s}is$ of the Karnataka $C\bar{a}lukyas$ and their crest, the $Var\bar{a}ha$. One wonders if this family was connected in any way with the $C\bar{a}lukyas$!

Caulukya

Lastly we come to the Caulukyas or Solankis. For three generations the suffix $r\bar{a}ja$, common to contemporary Rajputana dynasties, is current; then comes deva. The son and descendants of $Tribhuvanap\bar{a}la$ have the suffix $p\bar{a}la$, whereas only Javasimha has the suffix simha.

Four names of the subsequent branch line called popularly $V\bar{a}ghela$ has the suffix deva, and one or two have malla. The names proper are ordinary having nothing unusual about them, excepting $S\bar{a}ranga$ -deva. This name, as one of the epigraphs shows, can be explained owing to the spread of Krsma cult in Gujarat.

Names of Ordinary People

A study of the personal names of kings has contributed certain information on the forms of religions prevailing at different periods in ancient and early mediaeval Gujarat. Further information can be had on these points from the study of the names of ordinary persons. These are usually donees, at times persons who are commemorated. However with the exception of the few early *Kṣatrapa* and later Caulu-

kya inscriptions, the inscriptions of the intermediate rulers—beginning with the $Traik\bar{u}taka$ and ending with the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ - $Param\bar{a}ra$ in Gujarat proper and with the Maitrakas in Kathiawar—mention no one but the $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ and the writers and conveyors ($D\bar{u}takas$) of the grant. We thus get only a glimpse of the culture of two members — $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ and the writer class—of the society.

In the Caulukya inscriptions $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ figure less prominently; others, particularly the $Vai\acute{s}yas$ dominate the field.

Ksatrapa Inscriptions

The few K_s atrapa inscriptions give still fewer names of people. The earliest among them from Andhau in Cutch as well as the later show that endings -ila and deva, simha and bhūti, data (or f. datā) were common in western India as they were in the Deccan. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that these were some of the name-endings in whole India during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Among the names proper we find Simhila, Madana, Jestavīrā, Yaśa, Treṣa (Triṣṭa), Rṣabha, Bāpaka, Rudra, Pratāśaka and Kharapattha. Of these Jyeṣṭha, and Rudra might be after the corresponding nakṣatras. Rṣabha was one of the favourite names at this period, but whether it has anything to do with the first Tīrthankara of the Jainas, it is difficult to say. Bāpaka and its variant Bappaka often occur in later inscriptions. These are said to be terms of endearments, according to Dr. Katre and with slight variations are found in all the Indo-European languages. The Gujarātī 'Bāpā' for 'father' is perhaps directly derived from Bappaka. The last two names, Pratāśaka and Kharapattha, I cannot explain at present.

Who were these inhabitants of Cutch and Kathiawad? Sihila and his two sons Madana, and *Rṣabhadeva* and sister *Jyeṣṭhavirā* are said to be of Opasati gotra which might be perhaps the same as Aupasava or Aupasivi, who are said to belong to the *Bhāradvāja* family or group. If so, the family might be a *Brāhmaṇa*. But Madana's wife *Yaśodattā*, who is called a *Sramaṇerī*, came from *Sreṇika gotra*. This and her father's name *Sīhamitra* seem to suggest that this family was *Kṣatriya*.

¹ See RAO, Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambakam (GPNK) (Govt. Oriental Library Series, Mysore, 1900), 57 and 162 respectively.

Senāpatis Bāpaka and Rudrabhuti were Ābhiras originally but gradually by their martial profession must have come to be known as Kṣatriyas. Pratāśaka and his son Kharapattha claim Mānasa gotra. I cannot trace this in any published lists of Brāhmaṇa gotras.

No positive clues are given for judging the religion of these people. Yaśodattā, since she is called a Sramaņerī, might have been a convert to Buddhism.

Names of Brahmanas

The Traikūṭaka and other later epigraphs mention:—

- (i) the name of the Brāhmaṇa donee;
- (ii) the Veda or its sub-branch professed by the donee;
- (iii) the gotra of the donee,
- (iv) the place whence he came (before he settled down on the plot of land or village granted to him).
- (v) the place where he was actually staying when the grant was made.

From the first we should know:-

- (a) the types of names that a *Brāhmaṇa* took at that period and how far it was in accordance with the injunctions of the *Sāstras*,
- (b) the prevailing religious tendencies,
- (c) some geographical and other information, if the names were after places, etc.

The remaining four items should tell us what kinds of *Brāhmaṇas* had come and settled or were newly settling down in *Gujarāt*. In particular what Veda or Vedas they followed, and what their *gotras* were. And instructive should be the knowledge about the *Brāhmaṇa gotras*. For these, though originally 4 according to the *Mahābhārata*, or 8 according to *Srauta* and *Dharmasūtras* and a little later 18, had multiplied into thousands according to *Baudhāyana*. But a comparison between the epigraphic and literary material—*Dharmaśāstras*, *Nibandhakāras* and others, as has been already observed by Kane¹ might lead to some useful results.

Starting with the *Traikūṭaka* plates, when we for the first time get actual names of *Brāhmaṇa* donees, we find that in one instance the *upapada*.

¹ History of Dharmaśāstra, II, i. 494.

'svāmi', is affixed to the name Nama, in the other sarma to Nāga.

In the succeeding Kaṭaccūri plates, the suffix 'svāmi' is applied to Bodha and Bappa. And the one plate of Samgamasimha has 'datta' and 'śarmma' joined to Ananta and Prajāpati respectively.

The Gurjjara plates give the following names proper and suffixes.1

First Member of the Name

Āditya (4)	Indra (2)
Agni (2)	Īśvara (3)
Bhāgi (2)	Karkka (1)
Bhatta (2)	$M\bar{a}dhava$ (1)
Bhaṭṭi (6)	Mahādeva (1)
Bhadra (1)	Mahidhara (2)
Dharma (1)	$M\bar{a}tri$ (1)
Dāma (1)	Nandi
Dhara (1)	Pitṛ
Droṇa (3)	$R ilde{a}ma$
Dāmodara (1)	Rudra
Datta (1)	S'aila
Deva (1)	$T ar{a} p ar{\imath}$
Ghoṣa (1)	Vata
Gopa (1)	$Var{a}yu$
Govinda (2)	V iś $ar{a}$ kh a .
	$Upapada (or Suffix)^2$
$\bar{A}ditya$	Gaṇa
Bhata	$Nar{a}ga$
Dāma	Ravi *
Deva	S'armma
Dhara	Sūra
	Svāmi *

In this list we can easily recognise names such as Aditya, Agni, Indra, Karkka, Rudra, Viśākha, Vāyu (?) as names of deities connected with nakṣatras. We may call them Nakṣatra names.

¹ The number in brackets indicates the number of times the name occurs.

² Except those marked with an *, the rest are surnames in Bengal. S. K. C.

Names directly after deities are Dharma, Datta, Deva, Dāmodara, Govinda, Īśvara, Mahādeva, Nandi, and Rāma, representing Yama, Viṣṇu, (Kṛṣṇa), Siva and Rāma. This shows that by the 7th century at the latest Brāhmaṇas had brought into use names of deities not connected with any Nakṣatra, but Purāṇic deities, who were probably their family-gods.

Droṇa and Pitṛ may be names after gotra and ancestors respectively. The name Mahidhara for a $Br\bar{a}hmaṇa$, suggesting power and suzerainty and hence fit for a Kṣatriya, is remarkable. One wonders if the name beginning with $T\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ is after the river $T\bar{a}p\bar{i}^{1}$ $(T\bar{a}pti)$.

Among suffixes besides śarmma, svāmi had already come to be applied to Brāhmaṇa names from the Gupta period onwards. But now we find 9 more, in which the occurrence of dāma, found in Kṣatraṭa names, may be noted. Another suffix which draws our attention at this period is bhaṭa or bhaṭṭa, denoting, at this period probably, martial or scholarly traits, but now in Bombay usually a Brahmin of cook class.

In Gurjjara epigraphs the names of $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ have the following suffixes (which are mentioned in alphabetical order).²

* ° Ādītya	°Illa (?)
∘B haṭa	* °Nāga
* °Dāma	∘Ravi
* ⁹ Deva	° S'armmā
* ^o Dhara	* ° Sūra
* ∘Gaṇa	° Svāmi

Bhaṭa or Bhaṭṭa which is one of the suffixes is also found in some cases as a prefix. And that is the only known instance of a prefix. Thus we have Bhaṭṭa-Govinda, -Mahidhara, - $M\bar{a}dhava$, - $N\bar{a}r\bar{a}yaṇa$, etc.

The suffixes are appended to names such as

Gopa- <i>āditya</i>	Mātṛ-bhaṭa	Bhaṭṭi-dāma
Rudra - '		~
	Bhaṭṭi-gaṇa	Āditya -n āga

¹ Which as suggested by Dr. Chatterji, should have been derived from "Tapati".

² Those marked with an asterik (*) feature as non-Brahmin surnames in Bengal. Originally, they were the second elements of personal names; then certain families made a point of using certain elements regularly for a number of generations, and then these crystallised into surnames. S. K. C.

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Dāmo
Dharma
         - dhara
Īśvara
Mahī
Āditya-ravi
                      Āditya - śarmmā
                                       Indra-sūra.
                      Agni -
                      Indra -
                      Pitr -
                      Tāpī -
                      Vāvu-
Bhāgī -
        . svāmī
Deva -
Datta -
Drona -
Purnna -
```

There are a few names which have no suffixes. These are:—Bhadra, Bhaṭṭi, Droṇa, Ghoṣa, Īśvara, Nandi, Rāma, Sūryya, Viśākha, besides Abuka, Avuka, Bava or (Bhava?), Gilaka, Karkka, Narmma, Saila, Vāḍa, Vatra (?).

In the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ period the following are names among which some can be recognised as naksatra and names after other deities.

Nakṣatra Names¹

$\bar{A}ditya$ (3)	Revi (Ravi?)
Agni (3)	Soma
$Bh\bar{a}m(2)$	

Names after Deities

Ananta Vișņu	Nāga
Caṇḍi (?)	Narasimha
Dāmodara	Keśava
Datta (?)	Kṛṣṇa
Govinda	Kukkeśvara
Guheśvara	$\pmb{L}akar{u}ti$

These are called Naksatra names on the basis of the practice mentioned on page Iot.

I śwaraSarvvadevaMādhavaTrivikramaMahādevaViṣṇuMaheśvaraViṭṭhalaMātrYoga.

The list at a glance shows, in spite of the limited nature of the evidence, how the fashion for naming after *Purāṇic* or family deities was gaining ground and the old rule, as old as the *Taittīrya Saṃhitā*, was gradually declining.

Among the names of Viṣṇu we now find $D\bar{a}modara$, Govinda, $M\bar{a}-dhava$, Keśava, Kṛṣṇa, Narasimha, Viṣṇu, Viṭṭhala and Yoga. Perhaps this is the earliest occurrence of the name Viṭṭhala, a name of Viṣṇu (< Viṭṭhu—Viṭṭhala)¹ which has become very popular in $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ṣṭra$, and among the devotees of Vallabha $Samprad\bar{a}ya$, but which seems to be non-Sanskritic and Kannada in origin.

There is a fairly large number of names of Siva, including Guheśvara, Īśvara, Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Kukkeśvara and Lakuṭi, the last being one of the special forms of Siva.

Besides these names, after deities, there are a number of names, such as *Dhodthi*, *Durggabhatta*, Jajjuka, Jojjibha, Lalla, Nema, Nena, Naina, Reyyaiya, all of which I cannot explain just now. Some of them seem to be *Kannada*, as they should be, as some of the *Brāhmaṇas* are from *Karṇāṭaka*.

The suffixes of this period also reflect the new tendencies. In the following list:—

Āditya, Āryya, Bhaṭṭa, Caturvedī, Dvivedī, Deva, Dīkṣita, Īṣvara Kumāra (?), S'armma, Sara, Sena, Sura, Svāmi, Yamma, Iyya, we find suffixes such as Caturvedī, Dvivedī, Dīkṣita, for the first time. Becoming common, they in the 20th century have been utilized as surnames by Brāhmaṇas; sena as a Brāhmaṇa-suffix is rare, but is found before in a Kaṭaccūri record from Gujarat. Others like yya (¬ārya?) seem to be purely Kannaḍa suffixes.

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² The Kannada and even the Marathi practice of taking the place-name as surname has been traced by Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR (IA, XLI (1912) 72) to a grant of Pulakeśin II (circa. 630 A. D.), where "Umberkheda" is said to be the kulanāma of a (Brahmana) fyeṣṭhaśarmā, of Tagara.

Another new feature, at this period, is the use of the prefix *Bhaṭṭa* to names. Denoting a scholar—as the word professor is now used—it later became a surname, just as the English word 'Master' has been becoming in *Gujarātī*-speaking people and 'professor' might become among the Marathi-speaking people.

Contrary to the injunction of one of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* we find that there are a few names which are directly after the deities, and not derived from *nakṣatras*.

The names from the plates of the Maitrakas of *Valabhī* have been arranged in the following groups:

Naksutra Names Names after Purānic or Family Deities

Āditya	Dāmodara	Guhatrāta	Nārāyaṇa
Agni	$Bhar{a}va$	Īśvara	Piṭṭaleśvara
$Bh\bar{a}nu$ (?)	Buddha	Madana	Rudra
Candra (?)	Candra	Maheśvara	Sāṁba
Mitra (?)	Datta	Mātŗ	Saṣṭhi
Viśākha	Deva	Mitra (?)	Skanda
			S'rīdhara
			Vișņu,
			Yajña.

Kşatrıya or Vaiśva type of Names Other Names

Bappa	Anahila	Guhila
Bhaṭṭi	Guhāḍhya	Kikkaka
$Damar{a}$	Chacchārya	Nadhulla
Kumāra	Gillaka	Naṇṇa
Madava (?)	Goggaka	Saggada
Siha		Vatrabhațți

Once again, though at least two centuries earlier, we find that there are fewer instances of names after *nakṣatras*. Names after other deities are more. But among these the names of Siva and Viṣṇu are less than those in the Rāṣtrakūṭa period.

Among names, other than those after deities, we have to note Kṣatriya type of names such as Bhaṭṭi, Dāma, Kumāra, Siha, and a number of non-Sanskritic names like—Gillaka, Goggaka, Kikkaka, Saggaḍa. One wonders if these are in any way connected with the S'aka and other foreign elements in Western Gujarat. 'Bappa' as a Brāhmaṇa name has now been found to occur in all the three dynasties. What is it?'

Whereas 'Mitra' occurs for the first time during this period, Skanda which was a popular name in the early Christian era, sometimes compounded with $N\bar{a}ga$ —is found compounded with $tr\bar{a}ta$, vasu and bhata, and occurs in the name of a $Br\bar{a}hman$ done as well as a scribe.

If the list of names proper is large, and different from the orthodox ones, the list of suffixes is indeed formidable. The undermentioned list includes no less than 21 suffixes.

1.º ārya	11.º illa
2.º bhaṭa	12.º <i>īśvara</i>
3.º bhaṭṭi	13.º kula
4.º bhava	14.º kumāra
5.º bhadra	15.° mitra
6.º bhūti	16.º ravi
7.º datta	17.º śarmman
8.º ghoṣa	18.º svāmin
9.º gopa	19.º trāta
10.º guha	20.º vasu
10a.º gupta	21.º yaśa.

This would show that gone were the days when śarmma was supposed to be the only or one of the few suffixes applied to names of Brāhmaṇas. Liberal interpretation was put upon Manu's dictum that a Brāhmaṇa name shoulc have an upapada indicating happiness or blessing. The suffixes above listed include those indicating happiness (bhadra), wealth or prosperity (bhūti, vasu), fame (yaśa), protection (gopa, trāta), and others, showing that no hard and fast distinction prevailed between the suffixes to be applied to Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya names.

¹ According to Dr. Chatterji, NIA Bappa=Bāp (father).

Their Significance

Do these suffixes point to a general mix-up and slackness in the observance of $\delta \bar{a}stric$ rules or as has been argued by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the second part—the name ending—of a name is not necessarily a suffix, but represented in certain cases. e.g. in the case of $N\bar{a}gara$ $Br\bar{a}hmanas$, the names of families or tribes which were incorporated into the $(N\bar{a}gara)$ $Br\bar{a}hmana$ caste. It would be therefore interesting to compare our data and see how far Dr. Bhandarkar's conclusion is right.

Bhandarkar's Theory

BHANDARKAR'S theory is based on the fact that three manuscripts of *Pravarādhyāya*, one of which is dated in *Sanivat* 1788, *Vaiśākha Suda* 8, Bhrigu, give a list of 13 *śarmans*, which were in use among the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, in or before *Sanivat* 1283.

These *śarmans* are:— bhava, *bhūta*, *dāsa*, datta, deva, *ghoṣa*, gupta, mitra, nanda, *nāga śarma*, *trūta*, varma.

The $Br\bar{a}hman$ having the suffixes mitra and $tr\bar{a}ta$ belong to the $S\bar{a}rkar\bar{a}k$ and $G\bar{a}rgya$ gotras respectively. All these are supposed to be $N\bar{a}garas$.

Now from *Valabhī* plates he collected instances where the *Brāhmaṇas* had these *gotras* and *śarmans*, and belonged to *Ānartapura* or *Ānanda-pura*, a place which he definitely identified with *Vaḍnagar*, the home of the present-day *Nāgaras*.

Because of this close correspondence between the MS. data about $N\bar{a}garas$, and the inscriptional data, he concluded that "the $N\bar{a}gar$ $Br\bar{a}hman$ as appear first in the time of the $Valabh\bar{i}$ princes and that the 'sarmans' that are now, were even then current amongst them."

He further showed that 10 of these $N\bar{a}gar$ S'armans were found as family names among $K\bar{a}yasthas$ in Bengal² corresponding to Datta, Gupta, Mitra and Deb. Mitra, Varma and Gupta, again, are known to be names of royal families which flourished in Eastern India, say, from 100 B. C. to 600 A. D.

BHANDARKAR, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," IA. 40 (1911), 33.

According to Dr. CHATTERII, others are found in their tadbhava forms, but these are not necessarily Kāyastha surnames.

Coupled with this the custom observed by the $N\bar{a}garas$ while performing religious ceremonies to add $tr\bar{a}ta$, gupta etc. to their name, e.g. Bhagvanlal $tr\bar{a}ta$, he held that these thirteen $\acute{s}armans$ were not mere suffixes, but at least 10 of them represented the names of families or tribes that were incorporated in the $N\bar{a}gar$ $Br\bar{a}hmana$ caste. And that "this seems to point to a racial identity or affinity between the $K\bar{a}yasthas$ of Bengal and $N\bar{a}gar$ $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ of Bombay Gujarat."

This is indeed a very important finding about the ethnological affinities of peoples in Gujarat. How far is it right in view of our exhaustive study of *Brāhmaṇa* suffixes in early Gujarat?

Its Refutation

It is evident that Bhandarkar had not collected all the suffixes from $Valabh\bar{\imath}$ plates. He had examined only a few plates. In our list only 9 out of the 13 so-called $N\bar{a}gara$ suffixes are found. These are bhava, $bh\bar{\imath}ti$, datta, ghoṣa, gopa, (if for gupta), mitra, $\'{s}arman$, and $tr\bar{a}ta$; the missing ones are $d\bar{a}sa$, nanda, $n\bar{a}ga$, varma and even deva. And if $bh\bar{\imath}ti$ and gopa do not stand for $bh\bar{\imath}ta$ and gupta respectively—then two more—in all seven missing $\'{s}armans$.

Of the remaining six, śarman is a recognised Brāhmaṇa suffix, and so also is datta (e.g. Yajñadatta etc. as stock examples), whereas deva, nāga and śarmma in Gurijara and deva and śarman occur in Rāṣṭra-kūṭa plates. But earlier still in the inscriptions of the Deccan the suxffies bhūti, dāsa, datta, deva, gopa, ghoṣa, gupta, śarman and varman were added to names. Of course we cannot say that these were used by Brāhmaṇas only. However these data from early and pre-Maitraka inscriptions of Gujarat show that a number of suffixes regarded by BHANDARKAR as Nāgar suffixes were current among Brāhmaṇas and others who were not from Ānandapura. Only bhava, ghoṣa, mitra, trāta, seem to be peculiar to Maitraka Brāhmaṇas. Of these, only two, ghoṣa and mitra, can be compared with similar family names in Bengal,¹ while ghosa occurs as the name proper in a Gurijara plate.

This detailed discussion of the comparative epigraphical data should show that Bhandarkar is not right in regarding the suffixes occurring in the $Valabh\bar{\imath}$ plates as definitely $N\bar{a}gar~S'armans$. For out of the thirteen

¹ Trāta survives in a rather rare Kāyastha surname tā (ना).

only two can be regarded as such, others being found among other $Br\bar{a}hmanas$, and other people of the earlier period, whereas six śarmans from the list of 13 do not occur among the suffixes collected from Maitraka plates, the most important among the missing suffixes being $d\bar{a}sa$, gupta, (?), nandi and varman.

Thus the $N\bar{a}gara$ ethnic relationship with Bengal $K\bar{a}yasthas$, on the evidence of $\acute{s}armans$ alone, seems to be untenable with regard to the MS list. It seems that the writer collected all the then existing $\acute{s}armans$ among the $N\bar{a}gar$ $Br\bar{a}hmanas$, which has been accumulating for centuries as shown above and some (most) of which were used by other $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ as well.

With regard to the argument about the connection of Maitraka $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ with $\bar{A}nandapura$, out of about 125 $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ listed above, only 15 bear connection with $\bar{A}nandapura$. These have the following gotras and suffixes:—

mitra	S'ārkarāk <u>s</u> va	Rg	Anandapura or Anar-
guha	$Bhar{a}radvar{a}ja$	Sāma	tāpura.
trāta	>>	Sāma	
mitra	Sārkarākṣi	Rg	
datta	$Gar{a}rgya$	Ÿaj.	
ghoṣa	Kauśaravasa 1	Atharva	
gopa	>>	,,	

In all six suffixes; mitra is connected with Sārkarākṣya goṭra and Rgveda, guha and trāta with Bhāradvāja and Sāma, datta with Gārgya and Yajus, and ghoṣa and gopa with Kauśaravasa and Atharvaveda. Thus even it we confine our inquiry only to these Brālmaṇas connected with Ānandapura, we cannot say that all of them must have been Nāgaras. For Brālmaṇas having similar or other gotra and Veda and even the suffix datta and mitra are found among Brālmaṇas connected with other places. So in the absence of stronger evidence it may be said that these 15 Brāhmaṇas might not all have been Nāgaras.

Gotras and Vedic Sakhas of Brahmanas

Who were these Brāhmaṇas, to what gotras (families) and Vedic śākhās did they belong? A consideration of their names and name-

¹ No such gotra found in the GPNK. There is however a gotra called Keśaravaya.

endings has brought out, to a certain extent, the religious and social conditions of the time which had influenced them. Further consideration of the items mentioned above, viz. the *gotra* and Veda and the $v\bar{a}stavya$ and vinirgata of the donee should tell us what different kinds of $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ had come and settled or were newly settling down giving rise to $Br\bar{a}hmana$ colonies in Gujarat and which of them belonged to the original 4 or 18 *gotras*, and which $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}s$ of the four Vedas were followed. When and if this information could be compared with similar data collected by a survey of the present-day $Br\bar{a}hmana$ communities, $s\bar{a}hmana$ light can be thrown on the antiquity, migration etc. of the $Br\bar{a}hmana$ population of Gujarat.

I would however confine myself to a study of the inscriptional data leaving the collection of the present-day material and its co-ordination with the former (inscriptional) to a student of Sociology.

It is indeed a pity that the earliest epigraphs which refer to $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ in Gujarat supply very few details about them.

Inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C.—2nd century A. D. of the $S\bar{a}ta$ - $v\bar{a}hanas$, $K_sahar\bar{a}tas$ and $K_satrapas$ speak of munificent donations to $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ at Daman, on the $T\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ and the $Ban\bar{a}s$, at $Prabh\bar{a}s$ and $Jun\bar{a}gadh$, implying thereby the existence of a flourishing $Br\bar{a}hmana$ community practically throughout the whole of Gujarat-Kathiawar, as these places represent $L\bar{a}ta$, Northern Gujarat and $Sur\bar{a}stra$. Of course the community may have colonized in pockets at these religious centres, and may not have penetrated the interior, still its existence in fairly large numbers cannot be denied. How we wish we knew the details—at least the gotra and Veda of these $Br\bar{a}hmanas$!

Three hundred years later the *Traikūṭaka* inscription is almost of a similar nature. It tells only the name, *gotra* and the place of residence (*vāstavya*) of the donee. Thus we know that at *Kāpura*, a place probably in the *Navasāri Mahāl* of the *prānt* of the same name in the Baroda State, lived a *Brāhmaṇa*, named *Naṇṇasvāmi* of the *Bhāradvāja gotra*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* whom the Gurjjaras of *Nāndipurī* patronized were of the following *gotras*:

¹ As has been done by Dr. Apte and Dr. Wagh of the Deccan College Research Institute for two Maharastra sub-castes, viz. the *Mādhyandina* and the *Deśastha Rgveda Brāhmaṇas* under Dr. Karve of the Sociology Department.

Bhāradvāja, Cauli, Dauṇḍakīya, Dhūmrāyaṇa, Hārīta,¹ Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinaya, Kauśika, Lakṣmaṇa, (Lakśmaṇeya?), Māthara,² Srāvayaṇa,³ Vatsa, Vaśiṣṭha.

Out of about 10 families of *Bhāradvājas*, 4 belonged to *Kāṇva Sākhā* of the Yajurveda, and were settled in Jambusara, one family had come from *Daśapura* (Mandasor) and lived at *Kṣīrasara* in Gujarat. The remaining 5 families belonged to the *Kauthūma Sākhā* of the *Sāma* Veda and had settled at *Sirīṣapadraka* having gone there from Jambusara.

All the five families of the Caulis were Ātharvaṇas of the Pippalāda Sākhā and had colonised at Bherajjika from Bharukaccha.

The Daundakiyas, about II families, were, it appears all of the Vājasaneya Kānva Sākhā of the Yajurveda and having contacts with Sirīṣapadraka and Jambusara. The same was true of the two families of the Dhūmrāyaṇas

Of the Hārīta gotra and Vājasaneya Kānva Sākhā we have a single family from Sirīsapadraka-Jambusara.

Of the 4 $K\bar{a}$ syapas, two practised the Rgveda; of these two, one belonged to Asval \bar{a} ya $\bar{n}a$ -cara $\bar{n}a$ and belonged to Sir \bar{i} spaadraka-Jambusara; the other had come from Ahicchatra in U.P. The remaining two were $K\bar{a}nvas$ and from Sir \bar{i} sapadraka-Jambusara.

The Kaundinyas, about 6 families, were, it appears, Mādhyandina Kānvas, and excepting two who were from Lohikākśa, all from Sirīṣa-padraka-Jambusara.

A solitary family of the *Kauśikas*, *Sāmavedīya*, is said to belong to *Kānyakubja* (Kanoj). But this grant is proved to be forged.

The three Laksmanīyas were Kānvas and from Jambusara.

The Mātharas, about 5 families, also practised the Kāṇva Sākhā and belonged to Sirīṣapadraka-Jambusara.

The one family of *Srāvayaṇa* belonged to *Mādhyandina Sākhā*, had come from Girinagara and settled at *Sraddhikā-agrahāra*.

Of the 14 families of the Vatsa gotra, though all were from $Sir\bar{\imath}sa-padraka$ -Jambusara, at least half were $Rgved\bar{\imath}s$ of the $A\dot{s}val\bar{a}yana$ -carana and the rest $K\bar{a}nvas$.

⁴ Not mentioned in GPNK.

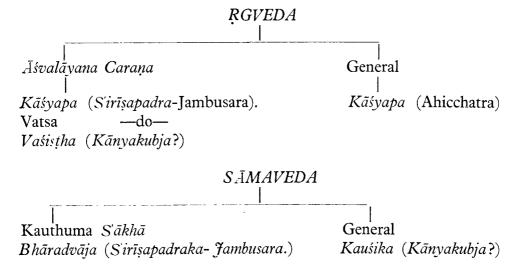
² GPNK does not mention this. There are however *Hārita* and Haritayana. Does not occur in GPNK.

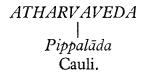
The Rgvedī Vāśiṣṭha family from Kānyakubja had no genuine title of the land they professed to claim under the Gurjjaras.

The above detailed survey of the *Brāhmaṇas* for over a 100 years in the 7th-8th century shows that members of the *Bhāradvāja*, *Dauṇḍikya-Kauṇḍinya* and Vatsa gotras were almost in equal number, and predominated over other groups. That of all the Vedic *S'ākhās* the *Kāṇva* (*Mādhyandina*) śākha was professed by the majority, then came a few families who were *Rgvedīs*; two of these—*Kāśyapas* and Vatsas—are found among Yajurvedīns; among the *Bhāradvājiyas* were both *Mādhyandina Yajurvedīs* and Kauthumiya-Sāmavedīs, whereas the Caulis only were *Atharvavedīs*. With the exception of three or four families, which had emigrated from Girinagara in *Saurāṣṭra*, from *Daśapura* (Malwa) and Ahicchatra (U.P.), all the rest, *Rg*, *Sāma*, Yajur and *Atharvavedīs*, were inhabitants of Jambusara or of the country round about Broach.

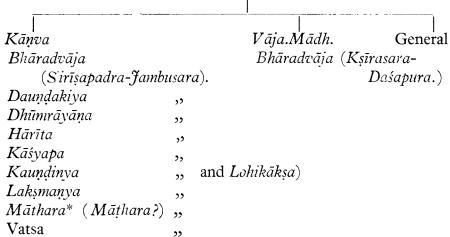
We must see how many of these families are found in these regions nowadays; secondly what is the relation of these families and their Vedic $S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}s$ to what we know from literature about the origin and spread of $Br\bar{a}hmana$ sub-castes.

Table showing the Relation between the Vedic Sakha and Gotra and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Gurijara Inscriptions.





YAJURVEDA



In the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ inscriptions, found in and dealing with Gujarat, the $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ of the following gotras are found:

Āgneyasamāna (Āgniśarmāyaṇa?), Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Kātyāyana, Kauśa, Kauśikī (Kauśika?), Kauṇḍina (Kauṇḍinya?), Lākṣayaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa, Lāvāṇa (Lāvaṇi?), Māṭhara, Mudgala, Parāśara, Sāṇḍilya, Saundāna,¹ Vaḍḍamukha,¹ Vārṣṇeya, Vatsa, Vātsyāyana, Yaugana.²

A comparison with the list from Gurjjara plates shows that not only is this list larger but it has names which are not found in the former and also vice versa. Can this be explained away on the ground that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas commanded a much larger empire, and hence drew Brāhmaṇas of various gotras? But this simple explanation does not account for the non-mention of at least 7 gotras which are found in the Gurjjara list. Has it anything to do with the patronage of certain gotras because either they were from the same country as the rulers,

¹ Not mentioned in *GPNK*. The reading seems to be wrong.

² Not mentioned in GPNK. It has however Yaugandharāyaṇa.

or because they were the earlier settlers or belonged to the older or newer groups, might be explained by further investigations.

The $\bar{A}gneyasam\bar{a}nas$ —six families—were $M\bar{a}dhyandinas$ and resided at Govattana.

The $Bh\bar{a}radv\bar{a}jas$ number 18 in all, but since this includes the separate references to sons and fathers, the number would be really 10 or so. These fall into 3 groups. The first group of three families is $Rgved\bar{i}$ and had emigrated from $Karh\bar{a}d$ (a). The second group of three to four families belonged to the $Taittir\bar{i}va$ $S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ of the Yajurveda and came from $B\bar{a}d\bar{a}vi$ ($Kcrn\bar{a}taka$), Tigawi and Vengi. The last group was of the $M\bar{a}dhyandnas$ and lived at Govattana, identified with Kotna, a few miles south-west of Baroda.

The four Gautamīyas were of Mādhyandina Sākhā and hailed from Govaṭṭana, so also the three families of the Kātyāyanas and Kauśas.

A solitary family of the Kauśikas, following the Kāṇva Sākhā is said to have come from Puṇḍravarddhana in Bengal.

A family of Kuṇḍinas, who are merely said to be Adhvaryus, i. e. Yajurvedīs, lived at Variāvi near Surat.

Similarly a family of Lākṣayaṇas, also Yajurvedīs, lived at Bhadrapali, while two families of Lakṣmaṇa gotras and Mādhyan-dinas, one of which had come from Pāṭaliputra (Bihar), lived at Tenna (Ten) and Umbara, both in the Bārdoli Taluka, Surat District.

The three families of $L\bar{a}v\bar{a}nas$, all $M\bar{a}dhyandinas$ lived at Baddarasiddhi (Borsad) and Govattana.

Of the four *Māthara* families of *Vājasaneya Kāṇva S'ākhā*, three lived at *Govaṭṭana* and one at *Mānyakheṭaka*. The two Mudgala *Mādhyandina* families lived at *Govaṭṭana*.

There was a family each of Parāśara, S'āṇḍilya, Saundāna, Yaugaṇa and three of Vārṣaṇeya gotra and Mādhyandina S'ākhā and residing at Govaṭṭana.

From Valabhī came a Mādhyandina of Vātsyāyana gotra, while there was one Vaḍḍamukha, a Rgvedī.

¹ Survey Map of India, I"=I Mile
$$\frac{46 \text{ F}}{4 \text{ x 8}}$$

Of the six Vatsa gotrīyas, one family was a Rgvedī, but further details about it are missing. Another was a Kāṇva, and lived at Jambusara. The third was a Mādhyandina and lived at Govaṭṭana. One Vāśiṣṭha was a Rgvedī from Bharukaccha.

These epigraphical data about $R\bar{a}$ strakūṭa $Br\bar{a}hmaṇas$ show that during the succeeding 200 years or so, (c. 750-970 A. D.) the $Bh\bar{a}$ radvājas still predominated, but whereas the earlier families had settled around Broach, and belonged half to the $K\bar{a}$ nva $S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ of the Yajurveda, and half to the Kauthuma of the $S\bar{a}$ maveda, some of the $R\bar{a}$ strakūṭa $Bh\bar{a}$ radvājas had come from Karṇāṭaka or further south, a few of which were Rgvedīs, and others of the Taittirīya $S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$. It is to be noted however that Gujarat (Govaṭṭana) Yajurvediyas were of the $M\bar{a}$ dhyandina $S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$, as under the Gurjjaras.

Likewise some of the Mātharas came from the Deccan, and some belonged to Govaṭṭana.

Only one *Kauṇḍiṇya* family, living at *Variāvi*, south of Jambusar-Broach is mentioned. But like this family, the *Lakṣmaṇas* of the Bardoli Taluka were also patronised.

All the remaining gotras are new. Of these one Vātsyāyana and a Mādhyandina is from Valaibhī,

This analysis of the patronage of Brāhmaṇas by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas leaves the impression that they did not show any special preference for Brāhmaṇas from the Deccan and Karṇāṭaka. Since the rulers were from these parts, a small South Indian element was no doubt introduced into Gujarat as during the Cālukyas. But the place which figures very prominently is Govaṭṭana. What was Jambusara in the Gurjjara period, a home of Brāhmaṇas of several gotras, Govaṭṭana was under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. If Buehler's identification is correct, then these two lie in contiguous areas, and must have formed with Badarasiddhi (Borsad), immediately to the north and north-west of Jambusar and Kotna respectively, and Motakka to the south in Surat District, large colonies of Brāhmaṇas in the heart of the most fertile regions of Central Gujarat.

Again as during the preceding period the *Brāhmaṇas* belonging to the *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva S'ākhās* were patronized most; then those of the *Taittirīya S'ākha* and lastly *Rgvedīs*.

It would be too much to assert that Sāmavedīs and Atharvavedīs

were not patronized at all, but so far there is no evidence from the Gujarat inscriptions of the $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}tas$.

Table showing the Relationship between Vedic Sakhas, Gotras and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Rastrkuta Inscriptions found in Gujarat

$YA \mathcal{J}URVEDA$				
Mādhyandina		Taittirīya		
Āgnesamāna¹ (Bhāradvāja Gautama Kātyāyana Kauśa¹ Kuṇḍina (Variā Lākṣayaṇa (Bha Lakṣmaṇa¹ (Gova Mudgala (Gova Mudgala Saundana¹ Yaugana¹ Vātsyāyana (VVārṣaṇeya (Gova Vatsa Vaśiṣṭha (Bharadvāja (Kau Vaḍḍamukha (Gova Vatsa Vaśiṣṭha (Bharadvāja (Kau Vaṭsa Vaśiṣṭha (Bharadvāja (Bharadvā	" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "			

¹ See footnotes on these on pp. 124 and 126.

The copper-plates of the Maitrakas of Valabhī mention the following Brāhmaṇa gotras;

Ātreya (2), Audaraśani¹ (1), Bhārgava (2), Bhāradvāja (7), Darbha (1) Dauṇḍavya² (1), Droṇāyana (1), Gārgya (3), Jābāla (1), Kāśyapa (1) Kauśika (8), Kapiṣṭhala (2), Kauśaravasa² (1), Mānava (1) Opasvati² (1) Parāśara (4), S'āṇḍilya (4), S'ārkkarākṣi (4), Tāpasa (1), Vatsa (1), Vrajagaṇa² (1). (Vṛṣagaṇa?)

In this list we have only 5 gotras—Bhāradvāja, Daundavya, Kāśyapa, Kauśika, and Vatsa which are common to the Gurijara list and there are five—Bhāradvāja, Kauśika, Parāśara, Sāṇḍilya and Vatsa which are also found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa list. The three gotras which occur in all the three lists are Bhāradvāja, Kauṣika and Vatsa. All the rest are new and found for the first time in Maitrka inscriptions.

What is the significance of this? Does it merely show the spread or existence of more *Brāhmaṇa* families or has it anything to do with the migration of *Brāhmaṇas* due to political, social and religious causes?

Of the two Ātreya families, one is a Vājasaneya from Nagaraka, the other an Atharvavedī from Hastavapra (Hathab), on the southeast coast of Kāthiāwar.

The family of the Audarasanis is said to have migrated from Dasapura and settled down in Valabhī.

There are two *Bhārgava* families; one a *Rgvedi* from Hastavapra, the other a *Yajurvedī* of *Maītravanīya S'ākhā* from Brahmapura.

Once again the Bhāradvājas are in a larger number. Of the 7 families, one is a Yajurvedī (Maitrāyaṇīya) from Gomutraka and resident of Valabhī. All the rest are Sāmavedīs, perhaps of the Kauthūma Sākhā. One is a resident of Kheṭaka, having migrated there from Girinagara; one a resident of Valabhī, come from Gomutraka. The third a resident of Kikkāta, an emigré from Simhapura. The fourth a resident of Valabhī from Ānartapura. The fifth from Kuśahrada.

The Daundavya is a Vājasaneya from Dīpa, that is modern Diu, a Portuguese possession. The Dronāyana is an Atharvavedī, resident of Hastakavapra.

¹ GPNK. has not this but has Audari.

² GPNK. does not mention this.

Of the two Gārgyas, one is a Yajurvedī or Sāmavedī, resident of Valabhī from Ānandapura; the other a Rgvedī, resident of Liptikhaṇḍa from Varddhamāna (Wadhwan).

The Jābāla is a Vājasaneya of Simhapura. Both the Kāpiṣṭhalas are Sāmavedīs and resident of Gorakesi Goras, near Mahuva, from Vaṭapadra.

The Kāśyapa is a Sāmavedī from Dāmaripāṭaka. Of the 8 Kauśika families, two are Yajurvedīs, one from Valabhī, the rest Sāmavedīs, one each from Daśapura, Jambusara, and Valabhī.

The one Kauśaravasa family is an Atharvavedī and inhabitant of Anarttapura. The Mānava, a Sāmavedī of Vaṭapadra, and the Opasvati a Vājasaneya of Akrolaka.

One of the *Parāśaras* is an *Atharvavedī* of *Dabka*, and the other three *Vājasaneya Mādhyandinas*, i habitants of *Kheṭaka* and Agas-tikāgrahāra, having gone there from Udumbaragahvara, and *Sāmga-puri*.

Of the four S'āṇḍilyas, three are Kauthuma Sāmavedīs, resident of S'aṅkaravāṭaka, while the fourth is of the Maitrāyaṇī S'ākhā of the Yajurveda.

All the four S'ārkkarākṣis are Rgvedīs, one resident of Ānandapura, the second and third of Kheṭaka and emigré from Ānandapura and Ānartapura respectively, the fourth a resident of Kāsaragrāma and emigré from Ānarttapura

The *Tāpasa* seems to be a *Rgvedī* and a resident of *Kheṭaka*, having gone there from Girinagara.

Surprisingly only one Vatsa is found so far in Maitraka plates. He is as before, a Vājasaneya, resident of Simhapura, and an emigré from Girinagara.

The one Vrajagaņa is a Sāmavedī and inhabitant of Simhapura.

This detailed survey of the Maitraka Brāhmaṇas, their gotras, the Vedic S'ākhās followed by them and the places where they lived has been briefly summarised in the table on the next page.

Table showing the Relationship between Gotras, Vedic Sakhas and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Maitraka Inscriptions

RGVEDA

Bhārgava	Hastavapra, Brahmapura.	
Gārgya	Liptikhaṇda-Varddhamāna.	
S'ārkkarāksi	Khetaka, Ānanda-Ānartta-pura.	

Tāpasa Kheṭaka, Girinagara.

ATHARVAVEDA

Atreya Hastavapra

Droṇāyana ,,

Kauśaravasa Ānarttapura Parāsara Dabka.

S ĀM AVEDA

Kauthuma S'ākhā

| Valabhī-Ānandapura | Bhāradvāja | Kheṭaka-Girinagara | Wilhāta Siihata

\ Kikkāta-Simhapura. Valabhī-Ānandapura.

Gārgya Valabhī-Ānandapura. Kapisthala Gorakeṣa-Vaṭapadra.

KauśikaDaśapura.MānavaVaṭapadra.S'āṇḍilyaS'aṅkaravāṭaka.Vrajagaṇa¹Siṁhapura.

YAJURVEDA

 Vājasaneya	Mādhyandina	 Kāṇva	Maitrāyaṇīya.	
Ātreya (Nagar	aka)		Bhārgava	
Dāṇḍavya (Dīpa)		(Hastavapra)		
			Bhāradvāja	
(continued on the next page)		(Valabhī-Gomutraka)		
			S'āṇḍilya (Viṁśakaṭa,	
			near <i>Valabh</i> ī)	

¹ See footnote at p. 130.

Gārgya (Valabhī-Ānandapura)
Jābāla (Simhapura).
Kauśika (Mahicchaka, Puśyasāmbapura,
Agastikāgrahāra, Valabhī, Jambusara.)
Opasvati (Akrolaka)
Parāśara (Kheṭaka, Udumbaragahvara,
Agastīkāgrahāra, Sāmbapura).
Vatsa (Simhapura-Girinagara).
Upamanyu (Girinagara-S'raddhikā (Sādhī,
I mile east of Amtī, Padra Taluka).

The table at a glance shows that the Yajurveda claimed the largest number of *Brāhmaṇas*, drawn from 12 *gotras*. These were spread over parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The $S\bar{\alpha}$ mave $d\bar{\imath}s$ were not much less; drawn from 8 gotras, four of which are found in the list of Y ajurve $d\bar{\imath}s$, and were spread almost over the same regions as the Y ajurve $d\bar{\imath}s$.

The Rgveda and Atharvaveda each has Brāhmaṇas from 4 gotras. The two of the former are common to the Yajus and Sāma list; of the latter only one, Parāśara, occurs in the Yajurveda list.

The knowledge derived from this study of the Gujarat *Brāhmaṇas* during the early mediaeval period, 500-970 A.D., can be further advanced if we can correlate it with a similar knowledge derived from the present distribution of *Brāhmaṇas*, their *gotras* and Vedic *S'ākhās* followed by them, and with what can be gathered from early literature.

Unfortunately our data cannot be fully compared with either of these. For similar study is not yet made of these two sources. Enthoven's ethnographic survey gives a long list of Gujarat *Brāhmaṇas*, but this is admitted to be merely geographical, where no mention is made of the *gotra* and Vedic S'ākhā of each group.

It would however appear from the brief notes on the Gurjjara Brāhmaṇas published by John WILSON in his Indian Caste, nearly 70 years ago, that most of the Gujarat Brāhmaṇas, though by that time known by their geographical distinctions, were followers of the

¹ Vol. II, 91-124.

 $M\bar{a}dhyandina\ S'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ of the Yajurveda. The Rgveda claimed a majority of the $N\bar{a}gara$ sub-groups, though not exclusively. A few $N\bar{a}garas$ were adherents of the $S\bar{a}maveda$, but its exclusive followers were the Sajodras, $Gang\bar{a}putras$ and Kapilas, No exclusive followers of the Atharvaveda have been mentioned, but it had a few followers among the $V\bar{a}yad\bar{a}s$.

This proportion among Brāhmaṇas following the different Vedas does not seem to have been disturbed through all these 1000 years.

How or why this happened, and which group or family first came to inhabit Gujarat?

I cannot answer why it is so. As to the second part of the question viz., which group came first, I would note that as far as the *gotras* are concerned, the *Bhāradvājas*, *Kauśikas* and Vatsas figure in all the dynastic periods. But *Bhārgavas* who are credited traditionally with the colonisation of the coastal strip from Broach to Sopara or a little further down, are found only, and that too twice, in the Maitraka plates.

Now the *gotras* can be counted at the present day by thousands, as they were even in the time of *Baudhāyana*. § RAO in his *Gotra-Pravara-Nibandhakadambakam* has listed nearly 5000 gotra-rṣis, that is names of forefathers, which a *Brāhmaṇa* would take while performing religious functions, ordinarily at least thrice a day.

However, according to the Mal. ībhāratu, the original (ādya) gotra rṣis were four only, viz. Bhṛgu, Vaśiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, and Aṅgiras. All the Srauta Sūtras mention the following eight: Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhāradzāja, Gautama, Atri, Agastya, Vaśiṣṭha and Kaśyapa.

To this, names of 10 more rsis, who were once Kṣatriyas, were added in the Vedic period bringing the list to 18 gotra rsis. Those are regarded as the original founder-members, from which the various other sub-groups sprang up. For gotra, as defined by Pāṇini, meant "descendants from the grandson onwards of any well-known man.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 97.
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² Ibid. 103

Ihid.

⁴ Ibid. 108.

^{&#}x27; Ibid. 104.

VAIDYA, All India Oriental Conference Report, I (1919), 36.

Gotram pautraprabhūtyapatyam". The general conception is that gotra denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor, whereas according to the S'rauta and Dharmasūtras the progeny of the 8 primary sages is declared to be a gotra

When we compare our list of gotras from inscriptions with this original list, we find that in the Gurjjara list of gotras there are only five of the 18 ādya gotras, 9 are new; the Rāṣṭrakūṭa has only 4 old gotras and 16 new, while the Maitraka list has only 3 old and 16 new gotras. The new ones represent descendants of the subsequent founders. In this way the antiquity of a number of gotras can be fixed, when information from inscriptions all over India will be gathered.

The Vedic Sakhas

As far as the S'ākhās of the four Vedas are concerned we do not get much information, or what is available is in accordance with what is known from old literature. Thus we know that the Rgveda's Aśvalāyana S'ākhā, Sāma's Kauthuma, Yajur's two main Sukla and Kṛṣṇa, and of the former Kāṇva and Mādhyandīna and the latter's Taittirīya and Maitrāyaṇīya, and lastly the Atharva's Pippalāda S'ākhā were prevalent in Gujarat.

These details, though so few, are important for tracing the history and antiquity of the existence of the various śākhās of the different Vedas. Presumably the various śākhās existed both in the oral and and written forms. So when the Gujarat epigraphs of the 7th-10th centuries tell us that the Rg's Āśvalāyana and the Atharva's Pippalāda śākhā were studied, then we may some day expect to discover MSS. of these recensions, though at present only the S'ākala of the Rg. and the best preserved MS. of the S'aunaka, and only a single inaccurate MS. of the Pippalāda recensions of the Atharva have come down to us.

In the case of the Yajurveda, some further interesting enquiries are possible. For instance, there is the persistent tradition, beginning with *Patañiali* (*Mahābhāsya*, I. 1. 1) that it had one hundred and

¹ Ibid.

one śākhās. What are these 101 śākhās? and how many of them had spread to Gujarat? It would appear from the extracts cited by Dr. Raghu VIRA¹ from the Devī Purāṇa,² Agni Purāṇa,³ Viṣṇu Purāṇa,⁴ the AV Pariśiṣṭa Caraṇavyūha,⁵ the YV Pariśiṣṭa Caraṇavyūha list,⁶ and of the newly discovered Yajur Vṛkṣa, a chart on which the Yajur tree is drawn with 101 branches reaching every remote corner of the Indian Peninsula; "that the list contains", as Raghu VIRA said of another list, "names of ācāryas who were invoked at certain ceremonies, and not of Sākhā pravartakas." Secondly some of the names are purely of of semi-geographical nature. (cf. Paundra Vatsā, Gauḍa-Gurjarā, Puṣkaraṇīya etc.,). This also leads me to think that the list is very late, at least of a period when such geographical designations of Brahmanas were becoming fashionable.

Anyway the chart is useful in this that it tells us the distribution of certain sub- $\dot{s}\bar{a}kh\bar{a}s$, which may be really after the gotra $\dot{r}\dot{s}\dot{s}s$. Thus we have the following sub-branches of the $\dot{S}ukla$ Yajur:—

 $K\bar{a}nvas$ are located in the $Krsn\bar{a}una$ desa, probably the region of the conjoint stream of the $Krsn\bar{a}$ and $Ven\bar{a}$.

Jābālās in the Narmadā (valley).

Pārāśaras and Gauda Gurjaras in Marudeśa.

Gālavās in Saurāstra.

Kātyāyanās on the confluence (?) of the Narmadā.

Almost all the Kṛṣṇa Yajurvedīs are placed in the south; the Taittirīyas and Maitrāyaṇīyas south of the Godāvarī, Āpastambas in Āndhra-deśa and Hirṇayakeṣīs "near Paraśurāma" i.e. in the Konkan, Aupamanyavas in Krauñcadvīpa and Kapiṣṭhalas in Yavanadeśa and Mānavas in Saurāṣṭra-deśa.

If I am right in thinking that some of these sub-branches of the Yajur Veda really stand for names of gotras of Brāhmaṇas found within ts followers, then in the list of Brāhmaṇas from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates

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<sup>1</sup> RAGHU VIRA, "Sākhās of the Yajur Veda" Journal of Vedic Studies, II (1935) 1.
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² *Ibid*. 3

³ Ibid.

¹ Ibid.

¹ Ibid. 4.

Ibid. 4-6

¹ Ibid. 11, 14 etc.

we do find Kāṇvas, Pārāśaras, and a few Kātyāyanas of S'ukla Yajur residents of Govaṭṭana in Gujarat. The former have been also found in Mahārāṣṭra. All followers of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda have been found to come from south of the Godavari.

The Maitraka plates have shown us the existence of the Kapiṣṭhalas and $\Im ab\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$, besides that of the $P\bar{a}r\bar{a}saras$ in Gujarat.

Thus the epigraphical evidence is corroborated to a certain extent by literary evidence of unknown date, and also by the count of the existing Brahmana families, following different Vedas and their S'ākhās in the last century.

Names of Persons other than Brahmanas. Caulukya Period

The general characteristics of personal names of the Caulukya period has already been indicated. If in the earlier periods names of *Brāhmaṇas* completely dominated the epigraphical field, during this period, their names almost seem to fade out, while those of the merchant class appear in increasing numbers. With them appear their professional and other designations which ultimately became surnames in the 20th century, and we get the first clear glimpse of the sub-castes after regional groups of people. In short we see not only in the political sphere the foundations being laid of an independent Gujarat, but also in the social sphere, of cultural elements that we have inherited today. In the Appendix,

Column II gives the names of persons arranged alphabetically.

Column	II	the profession of designation of the person.		
"	III	Religion	—do—	
"	IV	Caste or Sub-caste	do	
"	V	Residence	—do—	
,,	VI	The time and king und	er whom the person lived.	

" VII The source of the information in cloumns I to VI.

Taking up only the names themselves, we are struck by the fact that almost half the number of names are non-Sanskritic. We may even classify all the names into

- I. Sanskrit, further divided into
 - (a) Purely Sanskrit, (b) Sanskritized.

II. Prakrit, further divided into

(a) Purely Prakrit, (b) Prakritized.

The Sanskrit names include names such as Anupamadevi, Āśādītya, Bhojadeva, Caṇḍaśarmā, Caṇḍasimha, Dāmodara, Devadhara, Govinda, Kumārasimha, Mahīpāla, Rāmacandra, Madhusūdana, Somaravi. These do not present any problem. Their cultural significance will be dealt with further.

The Sanskritized group will comprise such names:— Abubrāhima, Noradina, both of which are Arabic, Piroja which is Persian, designations Mudi and Bāi, which are supposed to be Turkish and all the Prakrit or Prakritized words which have been used as Sanskrit.

Purely Prakrit elements are found very often in the suffixes e.g. $s\bar{\imath}ha$; sometimes in the first member of the word e.g. $fasa-p\bar{a}la$ or deva, or Jaga-deva, $Ratana-p\bar{a}la$, Salakhaṇa, $S\bar{a}tikum\bar{a}ra$, or at times the entire word, e.g. Bhola, and other names ending in -la, such as $C\bar{a}hila$, Kakala, Khetala, Sodhala, $P\bar{a}lhana$ (supposed to be from $Pralh\bar{a}dana$).

While these names can be derived from Sanskrit, either partly or wholly, and thus their import understood there are a number of other Prakrit-looking names which defy or seem to fall outside the rules given for the formation of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages.

These names, according to their endings have been grouped into the following classes.

Names ending in da

ı. Āhaḍa.	12. Khimada.
2. Ambaḍa.	13. Nāgaḍa.
3. Bhīmaḍa.	14. Dethaḍa.
4. Cāhaḍa.	15. Punaḍa.
5. Cāhuḍa	16. Sākhaḍā.
6. Cāḍa	17. Sāvaḍa.
7. Dāhaḍa	18. Sohaḍa.
8. <i>Dedā</i> (?)	19. Vāhaḍa.
9. Dhūhaḍa.	20. Vohaḍī.
10. Jasahaḍa.	21. Vāhudā.
II. Kākhaḍa.	22. Vājaḍa.
	23. Vohadi.

Names ending in ga.

- 1. Amiga.
- 2. Cāciga
- 3. *Cāṅga*(?)
- 4. Dhaüliga
- 5. Dharaniga.
- 6. Putugi-deva.
- 7. Punga.

- 8. Putiga.
- 9. Rāniga.
- 10. Sāliga.
- 11. Sohagā.
- 12. Sumiga.
- 13. Vāliga.
- Names ending in olha or olhana
- I. Alha
- 2. Alhana
- 3. Ālhaṇā
- 4. Delha
- 5. Delhana
- 6. Jālhaṇa.
- 7. Kālhana.

- 8. Kīlhana.
- 9. Malhana.
- 10. Pālhana.
- 11. Pralhādana.
- 12. Rālhā.
- 13. Sālhā.
- Names ending in ola
- I. Asala.
- 2. *Bholā*.
- 3. Cāhila.
- 4. Desala.
- 5. Gosala.
- 6. Gajaïla
- 7. Pāsila.

- 8. Rāsala.
- 9. Sāhlā.
- 10. Sāḍhala.
- 11. Vāpala.
- 12. Vaijala
- 13. Vīsala. (?).

A few of the names in each group might be derived from Sanskrit as

 $\bar{A}mbada$

Vāhada < Vāgada

Sohagā Pālha < Amrabhața.

< Vāgabhaṭa.

< S'obhanā (?) Saubhāgya

< Pralhādana.

but most of the names cannot be so derived. Even $V\bar{a}gada$ and others seem to be attempts to sanskritize Prakrit or foreign words, for they appear in Sanskrit works written by Jaina $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryas$ of the period.

What are these name-endings in da and ga? One explanation is, as suggested by Dr. KATRE, that these are Saka names or name-endings, or Sanskrit or Prakrit endings S'akaized because the bearers of the names were either S'akas or Gurjjaras or some such people from Central Asia. If we look to the other details, persons bearing these non-Sanskritic, non-Prakritic names we find that most of them are Jainas, belonging to the sub-castes Prāgvāṭa, Osavāla, Dharkkaṭa, many of them merchants and originally residents of Rajputana. One of them, Pethada is actually called a Gurjjara. So it would not be surprising that these Jainas and others, all having S'akaized name-endings, belonged originally to the Gurjjara tribe which colonised first in the Panjab, and then in Rajputana. And since during the Caulukya period, they flocked to Northern Gujarat, occupied some of the most important positions in the realm, and acquired immense wealth, the new country which they colonised came to be called after them—Gurjaratrā, and later Gujarat. This would explain why so many of them are Jainas. Just as in the earlier period Buddhism claimed a number of converts among the S'akas and Indo-Greeks, and now Christianity claims among Kolis and other aboriginal tribes, so Jainism could claim a large share of these foreigners. Still a smaller number perhaps did find entrance in the Hindu fold, as the specification of the religion of a number of persons would show; some of them might be reconverts too, as many of the *Porvāds* (*Prāg-vāṭas* of the epigraphs) who were Jainas some 700 years ago, became Vaisnavas by the efforts of Vallabhacarya in the XVI century, and are still so.

These Prakrit-looking names are, therefore, of immense ethnological significance pointing as they do to the foreign elements in the population of the Caulukya Gujarat, and to the consequent change in the country's name. For not only the rulers possibly were, in not a far too distant period, of foreign descent, but even part of the population was also of a similar origin.

¹ See Sankalia, "Origin of the Gurjaras". JGRS. 1946. 82-87.

Designations

Further foreign influence over these Gurjjara Jainas, this time perhaps because of their contact as merchants and traders with foreigners, is seen in the designations their men and women bear.

Mudi

Gaṅga or Gāgā, the father of Dharaṇiga, and the prime ancestor of the famous Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla, is called a Mudī. This word cannot be the same as Sanskrit Mudi meaning moonlight, or any derivative from \vee mud, but is supposed to be no other than our Gujarātī word 'modī' meaning a grocer. But mudī or modī is not a real Gujarātī word, derived from Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, or Sanskrit. It is regarded as a loan word from Arabic, as my colleague Prof. C. H. Shaikh kindly informs me. If this view is correct, then the word must have been borrowed from the foreign merchants trading with merchants in Gujarat-Rajputana, or borrowed from the invading hosts coming with Mahmud of Ghazna, or brought along with them by the Gurjjaras. Since no earlier reference is so far found, the latter alternative may be ruled out.

In the original Arabic it means prosperous, wealthy, a sense even now implied to some extent by the term modī.

Bai

Even more interesting than the word $mud\bar{\imath}$ is the word $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$, which is found prefixed to the names of sisters of $Tejahp\bar{a}la$, as $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ $\Im alhana$ -

¹ Sanskrit modaka means sweetmeat; from this 'one dealing in sweetmeat etc.' might be called $mod\bar{\imath}(?)$. Is the word Mudi itself from Sanskrit? It has more or less the same connotation.

When the lectures were delivered the above hypothesis was put forward, but later on consulting Dr. Chatterji I found that the word had most probably come from the Egyptian *mudrā*. He says:

Hebrew Mizraim, Arabic Misr = Egypt; whence Old Persian Mudrāya = Egypt (z > d in OP)—mudrā—' Egyptian article, Egyptian flat seal as opposed to a Babylonian cylindrical seal > Skt. mudrā = seal, sealing, ring > MIA. muddā, muddiā > NIA mūdī, mūda-dī or mud-rī 'ring'; Skt. maudrika='man in charge of a seal', MIA. moddia= 'man in charge of stores sealed (with royal seal),' store-keeper. > NIA. Modī 'grocer'. Khan Bahadur A. K. Shaikh also tells me that though in Arabic Mu'di means 'one who causes to reach, deliver etc., it is not used in the sense of 'purveyor'.

² EI. VIII. 227.

devī, Bāi Māii, Bāi Sohāgayā, Bāi Vayajukā and once in the case of another woman, Bāi Sodhala-devī. 1

Here I think we have the earliest reference to a word which has become a common term for addressing a woman in $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{i}$, Marathi, and Hindi. Its other forms are $B\bar{a}id\bar{i}$ in $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{i}$, and $B\bar{a}yako$ in $Mar\bar{a}th\bar{i}$, but in Gujarati $B\bar{a}id\bar{i}$ is not used in good parlance.²

Two explanations are given as to the origin of the word $B\bar{a}i$. The first is that the word belongs to the group of onomatopoetic or such type of words used by the very young children for their mother, which are more or less the same in all languages. So far there is no known recorded use of the word $B\bar{a}i$ in early Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. Hemacandra, in the 12th century, uses the word for 'mother' in his $Kum\bar{a}rap\bar{a}lapratibodha$. This may be the same as our $B\bar{a}i$. But in the epigraphs it is not used in the sense of mother, but as a term of address for 'woman'.

Since such a use is very common among Muslims, it is supposed to be a loan word from the Turkish or Arabic (?). If it is, it seems to have been introduced in N. W. India, owing to the same reasons as those mentioned in the case of *mudī*. However, before accepting this latter explanation, it needs to be proved that it was actually in use in Islamic countries prior to the 12th century.

Whatever might have been the true origin of the word $B\bar{a}i$, the term seems to be introduced in the language of the people through the higher aristocratic classes (?) in about the 13th century. Whether because it was a foreign word (?) or whether there were some other reasons it appears to have been so much valued, perhaps because it was so valued by the foreigners themselves, that it has precedence over and is used along with $Dev\bar{\imath}$, a Sanskrit word of long standing, used for goddesses and queens.

It is in this way that we have borrowed other terms of address like Sāheb, Mr., Esquire, Monsieur, Miss, Madam as we came into con-

¹ Ibid. V. 103.

² According to Professor A. K. SHAIKH, Persian dictionaries give 'bayo', 'bayok', or 'bayog' as Persian words meaning 'bride'. Dr. CHATTERJI asks, "Is Bāī, Bāyako an Austric word? cf. Oriya māipa 'wife', māikiniā 'woman', discussed in Dr. P. C. BAGCHI, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravadian in India, Introduction, p. XXII.

tact with other foreigners, and rejected the old Sanskrit terms of address as $S'r\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}n$, $S'r\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{A}rya(\bar{a})$, $Dev\bar{\imath}$, Deva. In some of our modern names $b\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ has become part of the name itself, otherwise when used with Miss or Mrs., either Miss (Mrs.) or $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ is redundant. But the instance is exactly analogous to the use of $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ and $Dev\bar{\imath}$ together. Our recent craze or avidity can be explained, subject people as we are and wishing to emulate our masters, but why did our forefathers think it advisable to do so seven centuries ago? Was it merely due to commercial contact that such cultural changes were effected? Looking to present $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}$ communities, who have spread far and wide in India and abroad, and imbibed foreign culture so much as to forget their own language in a generation or two, this does not seem to be impossible.

Persons having these S'aka-Gurjjara name-endings were not all Jainas, nor were they all Vaiśyas or Vaṇiks. My impression, gathered from the study of names and their endings, the mention of the sub-caste, the professional designation, or designation of status in the village or Government administration together with the specification of the religion of these persons, leads me to think that 10-11th century was a period of flux, and the caste distinctions were not so well settled and fixed, as, say, 50 years ago; I cannot say just at present, for we are already witnessing the beginning of such a period of flux. I would illustrate this point with a few illustrations.

Inatis

Most of the Jainas belonged to one or the other of the following Jñātis:—Prāgvāṭa, Moḍha, Oïsavāla, S'rīmāla, Dharkkaṭa. In some instances the word kula is used for jñāti, and this applies to Prāgvāṭa and S'rīmāla only. Here we see not only the traces of 'regional' sub-castes, or caste groups formed according to localities, but perhaps also of the suffix 'vālā', that all-pervading termination denoting "one who is in possession of", or "one belonging to", which is nowadays used for indicating one's business, native place etc.

This tendency to form regional caste groups is also noticed among other main castes and we hear of $R\bar{a}yakav\bar{a}la-j\tilde{n}\bar{a}ti$, $N\bar{a}gara$, and Palli $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}ti$, and Modha ($j\tilde{n}\bar{a}ti$) or $va\dot{m}\dot{s}a$.

Going back to the Jainas, it is to be observed that *Prāgvāṭa* is no other than the present *Porvāḍ* or *Porvāḍ*. The latter two cannot be derived

from $Pr\bar{a}gv\bar{a}ta$, but might come from the expression $Porityavod\bar{a}na$, and I believe that $Pr\bar{a}gv\bar{a}ta$ is a Sanskritization of $Porv\bar{a}d$. This may not be originally the name of a place, but of a person, as expressions like $Porityavod\bar{a}na$ -anvayai, $Pr\bar{a}gv\bar{a}takula$, and $va\dot{m}sa$ would suggest, though it is also possible that imitating $Pr\bar{a}hmanas$ and $Prace{k}satriyas$ who traced their origin to some famous $Prace{k}sin$, these Jainas who were probably foreigners used the words $Prace{k}sin$ and $Prace{k}sin$ for indicating descent from a place!

Oïsavāla is the present Osvāla, one of the main Marwadi sub-groups. They are all from Osavāla in Marwad, Rajputana. It would appear that they are called so from this place-name. Or is it that the place is called by that name because Oïsavālas lived in large numbers there, Oïsavāla itself being a tribal name, or the name of one of the ancestors?

Members of S'rīmāla jñāti are now called S'rīmālī. There seems to be no doubt that the word stands and stood formerly for a place and not for a person.

Dharkkata is not now found among the list of castes of Bombay Presidency mentioned by Enthoven. Perhaps it exists among the Marwadis in Rajputana.

At present both Jainas and non-Jainas are found among Porvāḍs, Osvālas and S'rīmālīs. This religious distinction might correspond respectively with non-Vaiśya Vaṇikas and Vaiśya Vaṇikas. But even some Jainas are Vaṇikas. And in the Caulukya literature Vastupāla - Tejaḥpāla are described as Vaṇikas. Vaṇikas they were in the literal sense of the word, for they were big merchants.

But it must be observed here that in none of the epigraphs either they or members of Oisavāla, or Srīmāla, or Dharkkaṭa castes are called Vaiśyas or Vaṇikas. While their business or profession may be indicated by the designations Tha (kkara), Sreṣṭhī or Goṣṭhī (?) I should think that from the point of view of orthodox Jainism, it was not necessary to profess any caste distinction, as Brāhmaṇa, Kśatriya, Vaiśya, for no such distinctions existed or were tolerated.

In the personal names borne by the Jainas at this period we notice a free adoption of *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* names and name-endings; take for example names of members of the family of *Tejahpāla's* wife: *S'rī*

Sāvadeva, Sāliga, Sāgara, Gāgā or Gaṅga, Dharaṇiga, Rāṇiga; and also of Tejaḥpāla's own family, Caṇḍaprasāda, Soma (rāja), Āsarāja, Malla-sena, Vastupāla, Tejaḥpāla and Lūṇasiṁha. There is nothing to suggest that these families were Vaiśyas. Except perhaps the prefix Thao standing for Thakkara, meaning as I will show later, a merchant. These names therefore cannot be regarded as purely Vaiśya names.

If Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla were regarded as Vaiśyās, it was probably because by profession they were Vanikas, and by religion supposed to be non-violent. Since, later still, all or most of the Jains engaged themselves in trade or business, their religion definitely precluding them from warfare, the Jainas came to be regarded as Vaiśyas and their names, as I will show later, were strictly after the Vaiśya-Vanik pattern.

Whatever may have been the views of writers in cloisters, the epigraphs of the period seem to record what was actually happening in the socio-religious field.

While the names of Jainas are not indicative of their caste, because probably they had none, some of the names do indicate that the person was a recent convert to Jainism, or the faith or caste to which prior to his conversion he belonged. In the former category we may place names like Jinadeva, Vīrdeva, Pāsacandra (Sk. Pārśvacandra), names after some of the 24 Tīrthankaras. Whereas names like Brahmadeva, and Brahmasaraņu would normally suggest that the person before his conversion was a Brāhmaṇa or that he had realized or was a seeker after Brahman. Some—very few—bear names of Hindu gods too, such as Lakhmaṇa, Rāmacandra, but so far no names after Siva or Viṣṇu have been found.

However a vast majority retain their semi-Sanskrit, semi-Prakrit-like names as pointed out at the outset of this section.

With regard to the suffixes of Jaina names most of them have no suffixes; others have *simha*, *sīha*, *deva*, and *candra*. The last becoming *caṇda* and even now constitutes a characteristic Jaina personal nameending. No doubt it was borrowed from Jaina ācāryas, (cf. Hemacandra, and names of other ācāryas). "Sīha" has been incorporated in the name itself, as *Padmasīha* has become *Padmasī* (or śī).

The non-Jaina names include a few of Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas, artisans and others which do not fall within any definite group.

Those of the first, viz. Brāhmaṇas, are very few. But even in these we observe the dropping out of the śarman-ending, and the new practice of naming directly after the family god S'iva or Viṣṇu. That the Brāhmaṇas had also begun to form caste-groups after certain places has already been noted. The one prominent group which is often mentioned as Purohitas and ministers of the state is that of the Nāgaras. Reference is also made to Kapiṣṭhalas and Rāyakavālas.

Kayastha

Persons called $K\bar{a}yasthas$ are usually found as writers in inscriptions. Nowadays they form a distinct sub-caste in Gujarat, Bengal, and U.P. Though writers are always mentioned separately in inscriptions from a very early period their caste is nowhere indicated until we come to the Caulukya period. Did then $K\bar{a}yasthas$ appear only at about this period as a writer class?

With a view to ascertaining this point, the names and designations of writers in Gujarat inscriptions from the earliest times are reviewed below briefly and the evidence compared with similar material from the Caulukya period.

The most important point that strikes one while reviewing the names of writers of Gurijara, Maitraka, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and other miscellaneous records is that there seems to be a regular office, and its holder, bearing the titles 'Sāndhivigrahika' and 'Divirapati', a hereditary officer. This might be due to the fact that the son might have followed in the father's footsteps, but it is more probable that the family belonged to the class of writers and, since writers were recruited from this class alone, very often the office tended to be hereditary.

It is true that no name of the writers' group or caste is mentioned in all these inscriptions, except once in a record of $R\bar{a}strak\bar{u}ta$ Amoghavarṣa, where the phrase Vallabha- $K\bar{a}yastha$ is specifically mentioned.

So it is not impossible that this writer class did not originally form a 'caste', in the sense in which we use it today, but formed only a functional group. It is in this sense, in the primary sense of office, that the term Prathama- or Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha is used in the 5th, 6th and even 8th century inscriptions of the Guptas and other dynasties in Bengal.

In exactly identical sense the significance of the term Kāyastha is explained by Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya Smṛtis, though it does not occur in the oldest Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Vaśiṣṭha, nor in the Manusmṛti, according to Kane 1 who further thinks that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Kāyastha was an officer, "having been possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word." A Kāyastha, according to the Viṣṇu Dha.S., wrote the public documents; and according to the commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti he was an accountant and scribe. These Smṛtis and the Commentary do not lay down any new thing but perhaps echo the actual state of facts as observed and recorded in inscriptions

But in India, as elsewhere, (in Egypt, Rome, England) where professions were long since hereditary, they tended to form distinct endogamous groups or castes. When actually this practice originated we do not know, but in about the 10th century these sub-castes begin to appear in inscriptions. The Kāyastha is one of these sub-castes. Not only is it mentioned as a distinct entity in Caulukya records from the time of Mūlarāja onwards, but at about the same time it is mentioned in inscriptions of the Gurjjara-Pratihāras and their successors, the Gāhaḍvālas of Kanauj, and Pālas and their successors in Bengal.

What is therefore established is that there was a writer class in Gujarat from a very early period, at least from 600 A.D., which later in the 10th century came to form a sub-caste called *Kāyastha*.

In view of this fact one can hardly agree with the view expressed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, and repeated by Enthoven that the great writer caste (of the *Kāyasthas*) had been brought into Gujarat by Muhammadan conquerors at the close of the 16th century when Gujarat became part of the Mughal empire.

Even now the caste numbers only 2000 and odd souls, which is spread in small numbers all over Gujarat. What the Mughals therefore

¹ Op. cit. II, i, 75-76; also NIA, I, 739-43.

² It has been suggested that OP. \times Sāva Oiya (Khshāyathiya)='King' is, the source of Kāyastha through a MIA *Khāyattha, *Khāyathiya; originally it was just a title of respect for officials under the Persian emperors like thākur, mahārāj, sāhib, master, etc., S. K. C.

must have done is to augment the existing number of Kāyasthas, who wrote royal and public charters for 1000 years or more, before the arrival of the Mughals.

What was the original Varṇa to which this writer caste belonged? Traditionally Gujarat Kāyasthas trace their descent from one or the other of Kṣatriya dynasties, whereas according to one inscriptional account they were the descendants of a Sūdra servant of sage Kāchara, but blessed to become wise and diplomats by a boon of Siva, while another inscription would claim their descent from Kaśyapa. Similar also seems to be the view implied in the statement that the upper classes of Bengal Kāyasthas are descended from the five attendants of the five Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal at the invitation of Ādisūra.

RISLEY'S view was that though $K\bar{a}yasthas$ might have some Aryan blood as their intellectual attainments would show, he was inclined to think that they should have been mostly recruited from the $Vai\acute{s}yas$ and $S\ddot{u}dras$ rather than from the Ksatriyas and $Br\bar{a}hmanas$.

If personal names have any significance, the name endings bhatṭa and bhaṭṭi in the names of Gurjjara, Maitraka and Rāṣṭrakūṭa writers would show that these were probably Brāhmaṇas, (for bhaṭṭa at this period, and even in our times is applied to a Brāhmaṇa), though the same cannot be said of Anahila or Madanahila, the first writer, from whom Skandabhaṭa and Vatsabhaṭṭi descended. Anahila in one case,—in the famous story of the foundation of Anahilapura—is supposed to be a shepherd. One wonders whether the founder of the writer class of Valabhī plates was originally a pure Kṣatriya, or Brāhmaṇa, or belonged to a mixed caste.

Names of some of the writers of Caulukya plates, according to the explanation already given seem to be Saka or Gurjjara-like, in some cases Kṣatriya-like (Sātikumāra, Somasimha, Kumāra, Jaitrasimha), whereas in one case it seems to be Brāhmana-like (Vateśvara).

Since even the names cannot be classified into one or two clear *Varṇa*-groups, the mixed and varied descent of the *Kāyasthas*, as the various accounts above-noted claim, seems to be justified, and the

¹ History of Bengal, I, 588.

² Cf. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, i, p. 77; NIA. I, 743.

names themselves seem to fall into $Br\bar{a}hmana$, Ksatriya, Vaisya, and $S\bar{u}dra$ (?) categories.

Professional Surnames

Hattavanika Mahattama or Mahattara

Masāhani Fosī $S\bar{a}^{\circ}(dhu)$ Pārio $S\bar{a}^{\mathrm{o}}$ $P\bar{u}gi$ S'reo Rānaka Rāütta Thakkara Thakkura Bhanasāli Pandita Brhatpurusa Dhruva Samghavī

Gandhin Silpī Goṣṭhī Sonī

Mahājana Koli (Kaulika?)

The Caulukya period not only indicates the emergence of sub-castes, but gives a glimpse of the various functional, professional and other "positional" designations which were then actually used and which survived through the Muslim-Mughal period and became surnames of various families.

Sadhu

The most interesting from the point of view of present surnames are the designations Sādhu, Sresthī, Thakkara, Samghavī, Dhruva.

At present one of the most common surnames among Gujaratis is $Sh\bar{a}h$. Even without a census it can be said that the surname is primarily and most widely prevalent among the business communities. Perhaps it is little known and one will be surprised to learn that the origin of this surname is to be traced to the designation $S\bar{a}dhu^1$ which is found mostly prefixed, in its abbreviated form $S\bar{a}^0$ or $S\bar{a}^0$ to the names of merchants plying various trades in an inscription of $S\bar{a}rangadeva$ and others. But in a few cases the full word $S\bar{a}dhu$ is found in a similar

¹ Sādhu> Sāhu, Sāha, Sā, Sāha. It is common in Bengal as denoting merchants and also as a caste surname. S. K. C.

context, the earliest epigraphical reference being in the Surat Plate of $Tribhuvanap\bar{a}la$ which leaves no doubt that $S\bar{a}^o$ stands for $S\bar{a}dhu$. This record makes distinction between a $S\bar{a}rtha$ and $S\bar{a}dhu$; the former connotating evidently a caravan trader, the latter having a fixed habitation.

It is in this very sense that the most popular account $(kath\bar{a})$ of $Sr\bar{i}$ $Satyan\bar{a}r\bar{a}yanadeva$ supposed to form part of the $Skandapur\bar{a}na$ uses the term $S\bar{a}dhu$, which is popularly taken to be the name of the merchant.

It also surprises me that the names of a number of these $S\bar{a}dhus$ are given in what we call "curt form" without any suffixes, just as on the Stock Exchange in Bombay even the biggest share-broker is simply addressed by his name, omitting the usual suffixes $l\bar{a}l$, $d\bar{a}s$ etc.

It appears that a distinction was made between $S\bar{a}dhu$ and $Sresth\bar{i}$ and between these and Thakkura, for in the same record some people bear the title Sre° . And most of the people in Jaina inscriptions from Mt. Abu have this title. It is believed by some scholars that $Sresth\bar{i}$ denoted a $S\bar{a}huk\bar{a}ra$, a money-lender.

Sresthi

A Sreṣṭhī originally might have been a village or town alderman, as it appears in that context in Gupta inscriptions, an office bestowed upon the most prominent person—prominent because of his wealth acquired through trade and commerce, a business magnate—in the town or village. Such a man would also be a money-lender. The Sreṣṭhis continued to enjoy this position of respect and trust, as long as the village and town panchāyats functioned in India. Even when these fell in disuse, the Sreṣṭhis still continued to act as bankers. With the opening of banks, the real Sreṣṭhis disappeared from cities, but the term came to be applied prominently to all and sundry who had a little money and stood in some superior position. But if the history of families which bear the surname 'Sheth' is studied, it will be discovered that their forefathers were the town business magnates and bankers. Thus a Sreṣṭhī was much more than a Sādhu who was merely a merchant, but gradually both came to acquire the same denotation.

Thakkura

Thakkura, a title or designation of a municipal officer, or as a very petty royal officer, appears for the first time in the Caulukya

records. At about the same time it makes its appearance in other parts of Northern India and Bengal.

Nowadays in Gujarat we have the surname *Thakkar*, mostly among *Luhāṇās* and *Bhāṭiās*, *Thākor* among *Brahma-Kṣatris* and among petty feudal chiefs in Gujarat and Kathiawad, whereas among *Vaiṣṇavas*, the deity is called '*Thākorii*'.

Can the proto-type of all these words be *Thakkura* of inscriptions and later Prakrit texts and commentaries on early Jaina literature? In the latter, Thakkura means a village chief, or a petty landholder or Jagirdar. Since these were expected to wield arms in defence of their property etc., and some of them were probably Ksatriyas, a Thakkura is supposed to be a Ksatriya or Raiput. This is why besides Thakors or Jagirdars, others who are called 'Thākardās' in Gujarat, all claim to be of Rajput descent. If the explanation were only racial, then all the persons bearing the title Thakkura in Caulukya records would have to be regarded as Ksatriyas. While this may be true in some cases, it is not true of all. For there are cases where the person is known to be a Brāhmana, in some cases a Kāyastha, and in one or two a Modha. And since it is used with reference to persons who appear to be merchants (as in the case of members of the family of Tejahpāla and his father-in-law), of writers who also bear the title 'Sāndhivigrahika' or Dūtaka, and even women, it appears that during the Caulukya period Thakkura was primarily a title, applied irrespective of the caste of the person bearing it. This title might have been denoting a small feudal chief, a Jāgirdār. Even in the list of officers mentioned in a grant of Ajayapāla, it occupies almost the last place.

The origin of *Thākor* class in Gujarat, and in other parts of India, e.g. Bengal, can be thus explained, and traced back at least to the 10th century.

What is the word *Thakkura* itself, and how did it come to mean a petty chief? Perhaps non-Sanskritic in origin it seems to be related to *thakka*, meaning a 'merchant' and is said to occur in a first century inscription.¹ And the present surname *Thakkara*, found among *Luhāṇās*

¹ Monier-Williams, Sanskrit Dictoinary, p. 430. Sylvain Levi, I think, derived it from a Turki word—tegin, through a dialectal form like *tegur, which gave MIA. thakkura. See Bloch's L'Indo-Aryen. S. K. C.

and *Bhāṭiās*, many of whom are traders and merchants, seems to have been used in this primary sense of a merchant.

Of the other 'positional' titles: Bṛhatpuruṣa, Goṣṭhī, Mahājana, Mahattama, Mahattara, Rāṇaka, Rāiitta, (from Rājaputra (?)—the last survives in the surname Rāiit, found in Orissa, Rāṇaka, in Rāṇā, a title of kings, of Mewad, and other Rajput chiefs; the office of Mahājana survived till very late, and is still seen in Bombay in some corporate bodies as grain merchants association, etc., and also as surname (cf. Marāṭhī Mahājanī). I do not know whether Goṣṭhī survives and in what form. Perhaps Bṛhatpuruṣa stands for the term "Moṭerā", meaning "Elders". What has become of Mahattama, Mahattara? Has it turned into or has it any relation with Mehta? 1

Haṭṭavaṇika, Joshi, Pāri' (Pārikha?) Paṇḍita, Pūgi, Silpī, and Soni are functional designations. Of these the last two, Silpī and Sonī now form small sub-castes. Haṭṭavaṇika is our Gujarātī 'Dukāndār'. Whether Pāri' stands for Parikha or Pārekha, and Bhaṇa for Bhaṇasāli cannot be said for certain.

Saṅghavī, now a surname in many Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava Banias and Jainas, originally was the title bestowed, or assumed by rich Jainas who organised a saṅgha for a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places.

Naming in a family

Royal genealogies provide the only evidence, for a long time, during the ancient and the early mediaeval period on this point.

A glance at the Kṣatrapa, Gurjjara, Cāhamāna, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Paramāra, and Caulukya genealogies shows that very often the grandson was named after the grandfather, but never a son was named after the father. Exception to this practice is noticed among the last Silādityas of the Maitraka dynasty. Unless Silāditya is regarded as a title, which it most probably is, it would be indeed strange to have members of the four successive generations and standing in the relation of father and son bearing the same name.

This practice of avoiding the father's name was specifically advocated, as we have seen above, by the $V\bar{a}r\bar{a}ha$ - $Grhyas\bar{u}tra$.

Among the common or non-royal people, we have mostly the names of *Brāhmaṇa* donees. A few instances which give the names of three

¹ Gujarati Mehtā, Bihari Mahato, both would appear to be from Mahanta. S. K. C.

generations show that the father's name is never repeated in naming a child, who is very often named after the grandfather.

Caulukya Period

Unlike in the very early period, about 100 A.D. when boys and girls had identical names, the differentiation being made by the feminine termination \bar{a} , we find in the Caulukya period as far as the naming in a Jaina family was concerned that:

- (i) there was a tendency² to give names from a certain set of names, or having certain endings.
- (ii) that grandfather's or ancestor's name was usually not repeated.
- (iii) that when several daughters and sons were there, each was given a different name as far as possible.
- (iv) that distinction was made merely by the addition of feminine termination \bar{i} or \bar{a} , by giving a distinct name with or without the addition of the $dev\bar{i}$.

Very little material has come down to us for other castes of Hindus. There is one point to be noted in the manner in which Jaina names are given in the inscriptions carved in temples at Delvādā, Mt. Abu. Following the practice observed in inscriptions from the earliest period, a person is mentioned as a son of so and so, and the father's name being in the genitive precedes that of the son. Thus the father's name came first. But since the names are Prakrit, and the word for son, putra, • first prakritized a into outta, and then abbreviated into ou- we find the names in the following manner: Sri Desalaii Brahmasaranu, that is Brahmasaranu, son of Desala. Now if 'u' indicating 'son of' drops out in usage, then the father's name comes first, and then that of the son, leaving no indication of the fact. But the society, in which this usage is prevalent, forgetting the original practice would give the father's name first and then of the person concerned. That is how I think the Marwadis developed the custom of mentioning first the father's name.3 For most of the Jaina names in Caulukya inscriptions are of people living in Rajputana.

¹ See Sankalia, BDCRI. III, 355.

² It exists in Bengal also. S. K. C.

³ This feature is also noticed among Tamils, Malayalis, Kannadas and Telugus Cf. Marwari surnames in - ka, Marathi in - kai and Sindhi in - nani and - ani. S.K.C.

It may be that the Marwadis have retained the original Indian practice—the practice most of us are observing, viz., mentioning first our name and then the father's, being a new one, originated by contact with Western Culture. This has further resulted in complete omission of the father's name.

Summary

Summarising the evidence presented by inscriptions on the nature of names, the practice of naming in a family, and the *Brāhmaṇa* gotras and Vedic *Sākhās*, and on comparing it (this evidence) with the practices enjoined by law-givers or codifiers of laws, the following tentative conclusions are indicated.

Since we have no early inscriptions contemporary with the Vedic texts or even the Grhya $S\bar{u}tras$, the latest of which are assigned to the 4th or the 5th century B.C. at least, we cannot pass any judgment on the actual practice during this period.

After nearly a 1000 years, excepting the names of Saka Kṣatrapas which indicate the popularity of the Rudra cult, and the influence of Buddhism on one of the kings, we meet with names in some bulk from the Gurjjara records. Their study showed that most of the names of Brāhmaṇas were Nakṣatra names, but names of the personal deities, like Viṣṇu and Siva were also current, a practice enjoined by the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Likewise besides the orthodox suffixes, Brāhmaṇas had begun to append non-Brāhmaṇa suffixes to their name.

Both these practices indicate almost complete non-observance of the rules laid down even in the latest *Gṛhya Sūtras* and a literal interpretation of the vague rules prescribed by Manu.

The names of *Brāhmaṇas* from the *Valabhī* plates point to a still larger variety of names, some even completely *Kṣatriya*-like and followed by an equally rich variety of suffixes. Whereas their richness is indeed remarkable, they do not show in our present state of knowledge that the bearers of these suffixes were *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, as Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar had postulated 20 years ago and that the endings are not indicative of families of *Brāhmaṇas*, resemble as they do to the endings of *Kāyastha* names in Bengal.

Two centuries later a variety of slightly different nature is seen in the suffixes and prefixes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Brāhmaṇas. In them we

can see the beginnings of some of our present-day surnames, *Dvivedī*, *Trivedī*, and *Dīkṣita*. The names themselves show the greater and greater hold that the cults of the personal deities was having on the people.

This conclusion as to the rise and rapid growth of the cult of personal gods and the gradual disappearance of purely Vedic religion and practices is in full accord with the evidence from archaeology—coins and monuments.

But even among the names of personal deities—Siva and Viṣṇu—we see the occurrence of certain names only, pointing to the later increase in their names, as different aspects of these deities came—to be emphasized or invented.

How very exactly reflective of the contemporary usages and religions are the names is shown by the fact that there is not a single name after Gaṇapati, or $Hanum\bar{a}n$, and only a couple or so after $R\bar{a}ma$ and $Brahm\bar{a}$. This conclusively indicates, as I have already shown from purely archaeological studies and as also our study of place-names testifies, that the cults of $R\bar{a}ma$, $Hanum\bar{a}n$ and $Gaṇe\acute{s}a$ are comparatively very recent; that of $Gaṇe\acute{s}a$ not earlier than the 9th century and of $R\bar{a}ma$ - $Hanum\bar{a}n$ definitely post-13th century.

The study of *Brāhmaṇa* gotras and Vedic *S'ākhās* showed that up to the 11th century the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Mādhyandina Vājasaneya S'ākhā* preponderated over others, among which there were a few *Rg* and *Sāmavedīs* and a sprinkling of *Atharvavedīs*. This proportion is maintained till today. Among the gotras, the earliest and of most frequent occurrence are the *Bhāradvāja*, Vatsa and *Ātreya* gotras, three of the four or eight most ancient gotras.

So much for the pre-Caulukya Brāhmaṇas. Unfortunately the evidence for the succeeding period relates to people who are not Brāhmaṇas. Hence we cannot find out what further changes took place in the Brāhmaṇa names. Among the non-Brāhmaṇa names all the few names are after Siva or Viṣṇu and none after nakṣaṭra deity. Whether this was becoming a general practice we cannot say for certain. It appears that it was, for we find Vijñāneśvara citing an earlier commentator on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (?) that a father should give a name connected with a family deity. Thus the practice had come to be legalised. But whereas we observe this expansion of the rules in naming a child in the

orthodox codes, we find that most of the names of the Jainas and others fall outside even the expanded codes. Barring a few which are after Jaina Tīrthankaras, others seem to be neither after nakṣatras nor personal deities. What is the reason? I think that it is so, as I have already suggested on the evidence of name-endings, because these people belonged to a foreign ethnic group. To accommodate these names and incorporate their bearers into the ever tolerant and expanding Hinduism, we find the later law-givers saying that a name could be given after the letters assigned to each pāda of a Nakṣatra. A very wide basis was thus secured, giving people more room within which they could choose the name they should give to the new-born. Uptil now this practice was followed. But again a new current has set in, due to political and cultural reasons. Will these new practices be legalised or will religion be completely thrown overboard, and have no voice as far as the naming of a child is concerned?

In the Caulukya period we also have the earliest reference in Gujarat to the functional and "regional" sub-castes, as well as professional and other designations which have now been turned into surnames. Many of the present sub-castes such as Porvād, Dharkaṭṭa, Osvāla, Srimāla were originally, as Srimālis are even now, regional sub-castes, giving no indication as to the varṇa of the people. And probably many of the Porvāds and other families—originally foreigners, Saka, Gurijara, etc. belonging to Central Asian tribes as their name-endings show—were first Kṣatriyas and then Vaṇikas. But it must be noted that in this period these were not endogamous groups, as marriage between Prāgvāṭas, Moḍhas, Oïsavālas are recorded. Later these groups did prohibit marriages among themselves. Now once again Porvāds and Moḍhas intermarry.

Thus the survey of personal names in Gujarat over 1600 years has revealed how gradually certain features of its social structure were being formed, which at the end of the 14th century had reached a form approximating very nearly the form existing today. Some other features, for instance the ending $-l\bar{a}l$ which is now found as a suffix to names of $Br\bar{a}hmanas$, $K\dot{s}atriyas$, $Vai\dot{s}yas$ and all others, and the suffix $-i\bar{\imath}$ in names such $N\bar{a}gj\bar{\imath}$, $Bh\bar{i}mj\bar{\imath}$ had not yet appeared. The

¹ These must have already been there, as these have been noted elsewhere in India from at least the first century A.D.

social, political and religious causes which were responsible for bringing about the new additions to the already existing stock of names and suffixes seem to develop during the first 300 years of Muslim rule in Gujarat. For both these suffixes appear in the names occurring in inscriptions of the 16th-17th century. A full and complete investigation of the causes here indicated and their effect on the social structure is urgently desirable as shown by me elsewhere. ¹

APPENDIX II NAMES OF KAYASTHAS AND WRITERS

Caulukya Inscriptions

Name	Profession	Caste	King	Reference
Jejja	Writer	Kāyastha	Mularāja 1	IA. VI. 192-193. IBBRAS. 49.
Kānchana	,,	••	Bhīma 1	IA. VI. 194; XVIII. 110
Vateśvara	,,	٠,	٠,	EI. XXI. 171
Kekka	Aksa p a t a $lika$,,	••	
K c k $ar{a}$	**	,,	Karṇa 1	JBBRAS. 26. 250
Kekkaka	••	••	**	EI. 1.318
Laksma	Mahāmā†ya (?)	(?)	Kumārapā!a	HIG. III. 200.
Vijala	Ţ h a			
Kumara	<i>Mahākṣapaṭalika</i> (Writer)	Moḍha	Mularāja II	IMP. INS. 73
Pralhādana		Brāhmaṇa (?)	Visaladeva	EI. I. 20
Valiga	,,	Kāyastha		RLARBP. 331
Sahajiga		Kāyastha	Cambay.	RLARBP. 331.
Sātikumāra Soma- siniha	<i>Tha</i> , writer and <i>Akṣa</i> °	Kāyastha	Bhīma II	IA. VI. 200. 202, 204, 209
Soma	<i>Tha</i> and writer		v.s. 132—	BPSI. 227.
Vājada	Dhruva & writer	ۋyastha	v.s. 1288	RLARBP. 328
J aitrasiinha	,,			
Yaśodhara	Writer		Kumārapāla	P.O. 147
Kumāra Vosariņa	Mahakşa o (writer) K āyastha	$Bhar{\imath}ma$ 11	IA. VI. 195.

¹ BDCRI, VI. 77.

Lecture V

CORRELAIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this last and concluding lecture I would discuss:

- (1) The light that personal and place-names throw on the language and the state of general culture—Aryanization—in ancient and early mediaeval Gujarat.
- (2) The nature of the relationship between the ancient or inscriptional place-names and their modern equivalents.
- (3) The main features
 - (a) of ancient administrative units,
 - (b) of place-names,
 - (c) of personal names,
 - (d) of the language of inscriptions,

in Gujarat and other parts of India.

- (4) Concrete ways and means for other types of field work having bearing on the subjects treated in these lectures.
- (5) The importance of exploring the identified places from archaeological point of view.

Place and Personal Names and General Culture

We have now had an idea of what sorts of place and personal names occur in inscriptions of Gujarat. These from the earliest historical times till the 10th century are mostly in Sanskrit, and a few in Prakrit. From the 10th century onwards we begin to get a larger percentage of Prakrit personal names, but still a number of names, both place and personal, are in Sanskrit. We may say that the main or dominant feature running through all the names is Sanskrit. Can we, thereforet infer as has been done by some scholars for other provinces, that Gujarat was Aryanized or Sanskritized from a very early period?

¹ History of Bengal, 293.

CORRELATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Aryanization of Gujarat

We cannot form a very definite conclusion, but before arriving at one we should take into consideration:

- (1) the traditional view about Aryan Culture in India,
- (2) the view of the linguisticians as represented by GRIERSON,1
- (3) certain recent hypothesis, e.g. of Mr. Munshi,²
- (4) other extant ancient literature from Gujarat,
- (5) the language of Gujarat inscriptions,
- (6) the true nature of personal and place-names occurring in incriptions.

The traditional or orthodox view is that India, particularly $\overline{Ary\bar{a}varta}$, the Panjab and the Madhyadeśa, that is the Gangetic $do\bar{a}b$, was the original home of the \overline{Aryans} . They lived there from times immemorial. According to this view, therefore, it should not be at all surprising to find place and personal names in Sanskrit.

In direct contrast to the above is the view of the Western Orientalists and some Indians also, that Aryans entered India in several waves of invasions or immigration and gradually spread over the country. In support of the the invasion theory Dr. Grierson, the late eminent linguistician and Director of the Linguistic Survey of India, brought some linguistic considerations upon which he based his 'Inner' and 'Outer' classification of Indian languages:—

- (1) The Inner sub-group formed by the Western Hindī, Panjabi, Gujarātī, Bhīlī, Khāndeshī, Rājasthānī.
- (2) The Outer sub-group: Lāhnḍā, Sindhĩ, Marāṭhĩ, Oriyā, Bihārī, Bengali, and Assamese.

Gujarātī, though regionally within the Outer Sub-group, was the only language which belonged to the Inner group. But since it showed some points of affinity with the languages of Outer sub-group, as Sindhī, it was probable that the original language of Gujarat was developed by Aryans of the Outer branch, but subsequently

¹ Linguistic Survey of India, I, i, 119.

² See Munshi, The Early Aryans of Gujarāta.

considerably changed by the later domination by Aryans of the Inner group.¹

The Aryans of the Outer group might have entered Gujarat through Sind; those of the Inner group from the north-east. For example, the Puranic Yādavas who colonised Dwarka from Mathura, and the later S'akas, Gurjjaras and others who came principally from the north and north-east, as the earlier Aryans who entered India from the north-western passes or through Kashmir.

Mr. Munshi not agreeing with this theory of Aryan invasion however holds that there were two groups of Aryans. One of them had remained for long in the Sapta Sindhu. Before members of this group, such as the *Paraśurāma Bhārgavas* who later descended southwards, the other Aryan group represented by the Haihayas had already settled in the Narmada valley. This is an ingenious compromise between the orthodox view and that of Grierson, but leaves the impression that in some distant past, when it is not specified, Gujarat was non-Aryan, but later came to be Aryanized by stages.

Two place-names which I have not discussed before help us to fix the limits of the Aryan expansion in Gujarat. These are 'Arbuda' and 'Bhillamāla'. In inscriptions of Gujarat Arbuda occurs for the first time in two inscriptions of Bhīma II. In one of these it is called Arbudācala Mahātīrtha. In one of the inscriptions from Mount Abu itself, the village Ābuya, ostensibly derived from Arbuda, is mentioned.

Not only does Arbuda occur in these inscriptions from Gujarat and those of Rajputana and others of the early mediaeval dynasties of Northern India, in several *Purāṇas*, and the *Mahābhārata*, but it also occurs in some of the oldest hymns of the *Rgveda* as pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow. ² There it is described as the stronghold of *Sambara*

¹ The theory of second or many invasions proposed by Hoernle and Risley, that in the second wave or invasion the Aryans had no or few women with them, and therefore had married aboriginal women and thus modified their original type is not supported by later ethnologists like Crooke and Ghurye, who have pointed out that there is no great physical change visible in the population from the Panjab to Hindustan and secondly the theory is entirely contradictory to the literary records of the Brahmins. (Churye, Caste and Race in India, 108).

² Aryan Gods of the Mitani People, Kristiania, 25 ff. Cf. for instance, nir arbudasya mrgayasya māyino nih parvutasya gā ājah. Pg. VIII. 3.19.

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and other *dāsas* or *dasyus*, who descending the hill-top carried away the cows of and otherwise harassed the Aryans. Indra is, therefore, praised for treading down the great Arbuda, in short, for conquering Arbuda and its lord *S'ambara*.

The later tradition about Arbuda seems to be based on the Vedic version, viz. that the mountain was placed in its present position by Indra, who was considered to have cut it off from some big mountain range, perhaps the Himalaya. The current tradition is that Mount Abu was formerly a level plain stretching to the *Arāvalli*. At one place there was a spot of unfathomable depth. This was filled up by Nandivardhana, a son of *Himāchala*. Since he could not walk, he was carried on the back of a mighty snake Arbuda. This new mountain called after the snake was steadied by the foot of *Siva*.

Whatever may be the truth in these traditions the meanings of 'Arbuda', swelling, tumour, polypus, foetus, would well suit the traditional explanations.

Konow examining the ethnological and linguistic data shows further that S ambara and other $d\bar{a}sas$ or dasyus might have belonged to the aboriginal tribes such as $Nis\bar{a}das$, S abaras, Bhils and others, S ambara himself being of the Kolarian (or what is otherwise known as $Mund\bar{a}$), an Austro-Asiatic tribe. For even now these tribes, pushed off from the north, inhabit a large part of Central India, Chota Nagpur, Orissa, West Bengal and Madras Presidency, and speak $Mund\bar{a}$ dialects, which belong to the Austric family of languages. ¹

According to the *Mahābhārata*² the country now known as Rajputana was the home of the *Niṣādas*, and so the country disappeared there.

These were recognised by P. W. SCHMIDT who in 1906 proved the existence of a great family of languages, spread over a very wide area. This family is supposed to be different from the Dravidian languages of South India and is divided into two subfamilies: (1) Austro-Nesian, (2) Austro-Asiatic. The former included the languages of Madagascar, Indonesia and the Pacific islands; the latter is scattered over Negrer and Further India. In India it must have been once spoken over a much greater area than at present. Now the most southern forms of Munda speech are those spoken by the Savaras and Gadabas of N. E. Madras, then in Central India; in Mewar the dialect is called Nahali-kurku. For details see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, i. p.34.

² III. 130.344, cited by Motichandra, JUPHS, XVI. II. 13

That the Bhils and Kirātas once lived in Rajputana and its neighbourhood, particularly its hilly tracts is shown by instances from later Rajput history, but particularly by the names Bhillamāla¹ Kirātakūpa and Muṇḍasthala. The first name occurs in the recently discovered Saindhava plates from Kathiawad. Though it is identified with the more well-known word 'Bhinnamāla', a tract in Jodhpur State, in and perhaps before the 9th century, it was known as Bhillamala and not as Bhinnamala. The ending 'māla', like the word 'Bhilla', is non-Sanskritic. The former is supposed to be a Dravidian word, derived from meḍu,² meaning upland, plateau, and even now used in Gujarati for the upper storey or floor. Thus both linguistically and culturally the word is non-Aryan indicating that in the distant past the country was inhabited by non-Aryan, very likely Austro-Asiatic, tribes. This period would go back to the early Rgvedic times.

If these interpretations of 'Arbuda' and 'Bhillamāla' find further corroboration, then it would appear that Mt. Abu for some period formed the southernmost land frontier of the Aryans, advancing into India from the north. And further that the present Gujarat was not colonized by Aryans until some time later, unless we accept the theory that there was an invasion through Sind or directly from the sea, which occupied the coastal belt, and formed what is called the "outer band of Aryans".

Save this no references, even disparaging, are found to places in what is now called Gujarat and Kathiawad, in Vedic literature. We cannot say whether Gujarat was or was not outside the pale of $Ary\bar{a}$ -varta as Bengal and Magadha were. By or during the $Bh\bar{a}$ rata war, however, Dwarka and Prabhas on the coast, and Mount Raivataka a little in the interior of the present Kathiawad peninsula acquire great prominence, the former due to the colonization, according to Puranic accounts, by the $Y\bar{a}$ davas from Mathura.

The other important place, Puranically associated with the Aryans is *Bhṛgukaccha* on the mouth of the Narbada. Here according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Devāsura* battle was fought at the end of the *Tretā* Yuga. But if this *Bhṛgukaccha* is a later sanskritization of the

¹ Dr. Chatterji draws attention to Bhillesata. Bhil-slaughter-- modern Bhilsa.

² I am indebted to my colleague, Professor C. R. SANKARAN, for this explanation.

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Austro-Asiatic Bharukaccha as noted above, then this Puranic allusion might be referring to the battle between the Aryans and the aboriginal population, chiefly non-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is a pity that we cannot fix even the probable period of these events and hence say positively when Gujarat was Aryanized.

Under these circumstances, when the earliest literature in Sanskrit was produced in Gujarat we cannot say. From the extant specimens it would appear that the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is the earliest. But this poem, supposed to be produced at *Valabhī*, as well as the works produced at *Bhinnamāla* such as the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* by Jinasena written in A.D. 783, cannot go beyond the 7th century. Most of the later literature is in Prakrit, and *Apabhraṁśa*, and some only in Sanskrit.

We have thus to fall back upon inscriptions. Among these, excepting the Aśokan edicts at Girnar, and 200 to 300 years later the short memorial inscriptions from Cutch and two or three later Kṣatrapa records, all other inscriptions beginning with the famous Rudradāman inscription are in Sanskrit. What does this signify? It signifies that, already in the second century A.D., fine, chaste, classical Sanskrit had become a court language in Gujarat, and remained so for wellnigh a 1000 years and more. If any part of India is to be considered Aryanized earliest on the strength of epigraphic evidence alone, it would be Gujarat, or more strictly Surāṣṭra. For the Rudradāman inscription is the earliest long Sanskrit inscription in India. Whether this early Sankritization or Aryanization was due to colonization of the coastal strip by the hypothetical outer and earlier band of Aryans of Grierson, I am unable to say. If further evidence for this

¹ It may be said that too much reliance is placed upon Sanskrit epigraphy, while long inscriptions of Aśoka, though in Prakrit, have been found in almost all the corners of India. To this it is to be replied that we have to make a distinction between Prakrit and Sanskrit records. Sanskrit was no doubt known, but was probably confined to the Brāhmaṇas, who used it for purely religious purposes. But it was under the Kṣatrapas of Malwa and Surāṣṭra, as evidenced by the Rudradāman inscription, that the language began to be used for secular purposes. Sylvain Levi, from the occurrence of certain words e.g. Svāmin, sugṛhita—nāman, and bhadramukha, even thought that "it must be in the time and the court of the Kṣatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established; or in other words, those of the really literary Sanskrit literature" IA XXXIII. (1904), 169.

hypothesis is required, it may be sought in the *Brāhmaṇa* colonies at *Prabhās*, Girinagara and *Damaṇa*, to which *Usavadāta* made gifts of cows etc., and later at Bharukaccha, Jambusara, *Govaṭṭana*, Badarasiddhi, Udumbaragahvara etc., all the places on or almost on the coast of Gujarat.

Place-Names and Aryanization

What was the extent of the Aryanization? Did all people, the laity and the intellegensia alike, speak or understand Sanskrit? Though there is no satisfactory evidence on this point, it would appear that people, particularly the agriculturists and others perhaps did follow Sanskrit, though their language or the language of the common people must have been one of the dialects of Prakrit, which according to Grierson¹ had developed, along with the classical Sanskrit, from the earliest Aryan dialects, "the house language" preserved in Rgvedic hymns. If these latter are called Primary Prakrits, the language of Aśokan edicts and those referred to by Patañjali may be called Secondary Prakrits. For a large number of place-names are in pure Sanskrit,² whereas the rest are Sanskritized. We saw how some of the names of Iranians and S'akas were Sanskritized. Granting that people could follow Sanskrit, we can see two processes how the then existing names were Sanskritized.

In some cases a purely, perhaps a totally new Sanskrit name was given to a place after some prominent landmark or event. Just as we have now replaced *Bhāmburḍā*, a suburb of Poona, with Shivaji Nagar, and the old Girgam Back Road by Vithalbhai Patel Road. In other cases the existing names were Sanskritized. Witness how Andheri has been renamed *Āndhragiri*³.

That such small but dominant culture stamps itself upon a large, ill-organized, (?) culture has been successfully demonstrated in the last 1000 years of India's history. In the end, of course, a resultant

¹ Linguistic Survey of India I. i. 121

 $^{^2}$ Cf. for instance Gujarati $Vadodar\bar{a}$ and Marathi Badode; both these forms according to Dr. Katre, are derived from Sanskrit Vatapadra, and anticipate a stage when this form was current.

³ "Or compare Calcutta; originally Kali- $K\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ =(shell-lime place) has been Sanskritized into $K\bar{a}liksetra$, owing to Kalighat now forming a part of Calcutta." S. K. C.

culture emerges, and that is what seems to have happened in Gujarat and elsewhere in India. For by the 12th-13th century even the language of the inscriptions becomes more and more Prakrit. It is possible that this was also due to other factors. Besides the weakening of the original Sanskrit culture, the increasing admixture of semibarbaric people, pouring into Gujarat from the north and north-west and west as invaders, traders and so forth, and the appearance of new powerful forces under the Arabs, Afghans and Turks must have been responsible for this change. Had not Mahmud of Ghazna and Ghori upset the political equilibrium, Sanskrit might have remained a court language for some centuries more in Northern India. For as late as the 15th century when Muslim kings patronized Hindu poets, beautiful *Praśastis*-inscriptions were composed in Sanskrit as the recently published *Praśasti* of Mahmud *Beghadā* testifies.

In short inscriptions show the prevalence of Sanskrit as a court medium for conveying grants of villages to donees. Since in majority of cases the place-names are in Sanskrit or Sanskritized we cannot form a true idea of the language of the common people, and say how they called a particular place.

Formation of Gujarati

But a comparison of these inscriptional place-names with their modern equivalents would show what linguistic changes have occurred in these names, and what relation they have to the formation or structure of $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{i}$. In a few cases we might be able to detect the original pre-Sanskritized name. With this end in view I have classified the identified place-names into five groups as follows:

Linguistic Changes

I. Place-names which have remained the same, such as Kaccha, Jambusara, Navasāri, Sañjāna.

- ¹ The above classification differs from a strictly linguistic classification, according to which we should have:
 - (i) Tatsama or Pure Sanskrit names-mostly recent.
 - (ii) Semi-tatsama names; these are slightly older.
 - (iii) Prakritic names; these are the oldest (and include Desi elements).
 - (iv) Post-Islamic and British names.

- II. Place-names which have dropped off or changed medial consonants and vowel, and retained initial syllable, e.g. Kantāragrāma > Katārgām. Pālhaṇapura > Pālaṇpur. Rivadi > Ribadi.
- III. Place-names which have changed or dropped final syllable e.g. $K\bar{a}pik\bar{a}>K\bar{a}v\bar{\imath}$. Mottaka> $Mot\bar{a}$. $L\bar{a}nganaijya>L\bar{a}nghna(e)j$. Arbuda> $\bar{A}buya>\bar{A}bu$.
- IV. Place-names which have undergone much change. Bharu-kaccha > Bharuch. Catuḥsāri > Chosār. Karpaṭavāṇijya> Kapaḍvanj. Simhapura > Sīhor. Varddhamāna > Waḍhvān. Aṇahilapāṭaka > Anāvāḍā. Godrahaka > Godhrā. Āmvalasāḍhi > Amalsād.
- V. Place-names which have a change in initial syllable. $Ahir\bar{a}n\bar{a} > Irana$; Vahicara > Bechar.

These were submitted with the following queries to Dr. KATRE whose remarks are as under:

- I. How is that some place-names have remained almost unchanged? Is it due to some inherent character in the formation of the word? or is it due to other extraneous causes e.g. political importance, constant use among the learned and literature?
- 2. Some place-names have changed considerably. No intermediate stages are known, but can we postulate them?
- 3. The explanation of linguistic changes has often been offered by BUEHLER and others with the help of modern *Gujarātī*. Instead can we throw light from an objective comparison between the inscriptional name and its present form on the evolution of the *Gujarātī* language?
- 4. Wherever the non-Sanskritic names exist, can we say whether they are related to any of the Prakrits and the nature of the language then current?

"The question now arises," says Dr. KATRE, "What is the link between the old and new place-names? We observe that a number of names remain almost unchanged, while a few change so imperceptibly as to amount to no change at all; a few others retain traces of the older nomenclature, while in a certain limited category no link seems to exist, or if any is indicated, it is so slight as not to be noticed.

It may here be recalled that proper names or *nomina propria* also form part of the vocabulary of a language, and as such are liable to all the

normal phonological changes which affect all vocables. In addition, by the special use of *nomina propria* applied to definite but limited objects, they are susceptible to peculiar changes which cannot normally be explained by comparative philology. These changes are purely phonetic and not phonological: phonetic changes are peculiar and have no basis of correspondences, while phonological changes are historical and render themselves to be studied from a comparative standpoint.

Turning once again to the earlier place-names it will be noticed that a majority of them are Indo-Aryan in character: Kaccha, $\bar{A}nandapura$, $Navas\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ etc. These are purely old Indo-Aryan names, although Kaccha is a MIA incorporation into OIA vocabulary (Kakṣa-). A large number appear to be MIA in character: $K\bar{a}pura$, Gorajja, etc. or $\bar{A}nganav\bar{a}taka$. In these examples MIA tendencies are seen in some phonological features. A word like $Deulav\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ represents the full MIA stage.

Nevertheless there is a fairly large residuary class of names which does not appear at first sight either as OIA or MIA. Our ancient grammarians would have classed them as $Deś\bar{\imath}$ words, while modern philologists might call them as loan words from non-IA dialects. Thus names like $Dodiy\bar{a}paṭaka$, $D\bar{a}igarii\bar{a}$, Phinicadi, appear suspect as loan words of non-IA character. Further research may determine the ultimate source of these early names.

Now all these nomina, like other vocables, undergo phonological changes in course of time. If we consider the region where these changes have occurred, and pose the correspondences between definitely identified older and later place-names we shall be in a position to classify them into different categories, whatever be the ultimate source of such names.

The chief character of the changes affecting the phonology of the dialects of this region is as follows:

- (i) Loss of final OIA consonants, the vowels r, l, and diphthongs ai, au, and loss of final vowel in the modern stage.
- (2) Voicing of intervocalic single stops or ultimate loss of occlusion.
- (3) Reduction of consonant clusters to double consonants, and further reduction to single stops etc. with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

This is the broad outline of the changes affecting phonology from OIA to MIA and NIA.

Judged by this touchstone, we can divide the names into three categories:

- (I) Inherited from OIA or MIA.
- (2) Loan words from OIA or MIA.
- (3) Loan words from other language families.

Inherited Names

These divide themselves into two main classes which may be called *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava*. *Tatsamas* retain practically the same form throughout as in Kaccha> Kacch(a), the final a being not pronounced in NIA.

Tadbhavas show significant but normal changes in phonology as specified above (in general terms): $Navas\bar{a}rik\bar{a} > Nav(a)s\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$

Here initial na, -va-, $-s\bar{a}$ - remain unaltered while $rik\bar{a} > r\bar{\imath}$ (through MIA $ri\bar{a} > i\bar{a} > \bar{\imath}$ normally in NIA of this region). A large number of words, however, do not correspond exactly : $Undir\bar{a} > Undr\bar{a}$.

Here $Undr\bar{a}$, possibly for *Undara, shows a final $-r\bar{a}$ which cannot be from the -ra of Undara-. For phonologically we expect a form like Undir or Undar in Modern $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{t}$. This final $-r\bar{a}$ can, however, come from—raka of the older stage, so that we can postulate an * $Und\bar{t}raka$ from which modern $Undr\bar{a}$ has come. Philology here helps us to restore the correct antecedent of the modern term which, however, differs from the old recorded name only by the pleonastic (redundant) suffix-ka.

A number of correspondences cannot be properly classed under the pure inherited forms or as loan-words. If today we go back to Sanskrit and borrow a word to express some new thought, object or item, in modern $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}$ this word, now a loan, will become a part of $Gujar\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}$ vocabulary, and in course of time will undergo changes which affect other words of the language, with this difference: Whereas pure inherited elements are already free from certain combination of consonants, etc., the word possesses them by virtue of its being borrowed intact, and the changes will not actually correspond to those affecting inherited vocables in such characters. This class, therefore, is called semi-tatsamas; it may with equal force be called semi-tadbhavas. Thus we have $Vatapadra~(ka) > Vadodr\bar{a}$.

Now the combination- $dr\bar{a}$ in the modern form may come from earlier -* $dar\bar{a}$ -, with a slurring of a in the prepenultimate position (*da ra a) or it may be a conscious survival of the earlier-dra (ka)-. In the later case we have a semi-tatsama, in the former a pure inherited tadbhava.

There are a number of instances where the semi-tatsama nature of the names is never in doubt, since the peculiar combinations seen cannot be so easily derived from purely inherited characteristics:-

Ankaleśvara > Ankleśvar > or Anklesar. The first showing -śvis semi-tatsama while the second showing -s- is purely inherited.

The stage at which a loan word enters into a NIA language can be approximately judged by the phonological changes which have affected it. But this is a purely linguistic study, involving technical discussions, which may be better left for investigation by specialists in that field. The same holds good for the etymologies of these names, especially when they are non-IA loan words.

For our practical purposes we may classify all the changes involved, but only on very general considerations."

Inscriptional Place-Names and their Modern Equivalents

I. PLACE-NAMES WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED.

Inscription	Old Name		Modern Name
Rudradaman	Kaccha	>	Cutch (Kachchh)
Traikutaka c . 450 A.D.	Kāpura	>	$K\bar{a}pur(a)$
KATACCURI c. 600 A.D.	Ananda p ura	>	Anand(?)
	Gorajja	>	Goraj
GURJJARA c. 650 A.D.	Jambusara	>	Jambusar (a)
	Toraṇaka	>	Toran
CALUKYA <i>c</i> . 700 A. D.	Navasārikā	>	$Nav(a)$ s \bar{a} r $ar{\imath}$
Rastrakuta c . 800 a.d.	Saṁkī	>	Sanki
	Samjāņa	>	Sañjān
	Tenna	>	Ten
Caulukya	Āṅgaṇavāḍā	>	A nga $n(a)var{a}dar{a}$
	<i></i> Дābhī	>	<i>Pābhī</i>

Old Name		Modern Name
Dhaüli	>	Dhauli
Kāḍā	>	Kaḍā
Kamboīka	>	Kamboī
Kāroḍā	>	Karoḍā
Khāṁbhila	>	Khāmbhel
$Kar{a}mbalar{\imath}$	>	Kāmhli
$Kar{a}lharar{\imath}$	>	Kālri
Kāliyāṇā	>	Kāliāna
Sāmpāvāḍā	>	Sāmpavāḍā
Rāṇāvāḍā	>	Raṇāvāḍā
$Lar{\imath}lar{a}$ pura	>	Līlāpur
Nausara	>	Nausar
$Phar{u}lasara$	>	Phulsar
Sāṁparā	>	Sāmprā
Saṇḍera	>	Saṇḍer
Sūnaka	>	Sunak
	Dhaüli Kāḍā Kāmboīka Kāroḍā Khāmbhila Kālharī Kāliyāṇā Sāmpāvāḍā Rāṇāvāḍā Līlāpura Nausara Phūlasara Sāmparā Saṇḍera	Dhaüli > Kāḍā > Kāḍā > Kāmboīka > Kāroḍā > Khāmbhila > Kāmbalī > Kālharī > Kāliyāṇā > Sāmpāvāḍā > Rāṇāvāḍā > Līlāpura > Nausara > Phūlasara > Sāmparā > Sāmparā >

- II. PLACE-NAMES WHICH HAVE UNDERGONE SOME CHANGE.
- (A) Dropping of or change in Medial Consonants and Vowel and/or Initial Letters.

RASTRAKUTA	Chorundaka	>	Chorand (a)
	Jadrāna	>	Jantrān
	Kā'ntāragrāma	>	Katārgam
	Ruhṇāḍa	>	Ruṇāḍ
	$Sa\dot{m}bandhar{\imath}$	>	Samadhi
	Sinhā	>	Sīnā
	Bhūmilikā	>	Ghūmlī or Bhūmlī
	$Dhenik ilde{a}$	>	Dhinki (also Dhanīkā)
Caulukya	$ar{A}dhivar{a}dar{a}$	>	Adivādā
	Ahirāṇā	>	Irāna
	Bhāṁṣara	>	$Bh\bar{a}khar(a)$
	Bhūharaḍā	>	Bhutvāḍ
	Corūyavāḍa	>	$Corv\bar{a}d(a)$

Inscription	Old Name		Modern Name
Inscription (b) CAULUKYA	Old Name Dāsayaja Deülavāḍā Dhāmaṇacchā Doḍiyāpāṭaka Iṁdilā Pālhaṇapura Naḍḍula Muṇḍasthala Hāṁsalapura Heṭhaüñjī Rājapuri	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	Dāsaj Delvāḍā Dhamāḍachā Doḍiavāḍā Indla Pālanpur Nāḍol Murthala
	Raum Rupāpura Sākalī Sihakā Sūrayaja Salakhaṇapura Trihati Uṁvaraṇī Uṅdirā Kisaraüli Uṁṭāüyā	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	Runn Ruppur Sānkli Sika Suraj Sankhalpur Tret Umarni Undrā Kivarli Utwa

B. Change in a Single Medial Consonant

Pavāṇī > Dabānī, Pucāṇā > Pumānā (?), Rivadi > Ribadi.

C. Change in Final Vowel

Pre-Caulukya

Gurjjara	S'uṇṭhavāḍaka	>	Sunthvād
	$Vihar{a}$ ņ a	>	Vihān
CALUKYA	Allūraka	>	$Alurar{a}$
	Asaṭṭi	>	Astgam

RASTRAKUTA	Ambakagrāma	>	Ambach
	(cf. Traikūṭaka,	>	$ar{A}mrakar{a})$
	Aṅkoṭṭaka	>	$A\dot{n}kar{u}t$
	Bharthāṇaka	>	Bharthān
	Erathāṇa	>	Erthān
	$Dhar{a}hadva$	>	$Dhar{a}vata$
	Jambuvāvikā	>	Jāmbavā
	Kāliyara	>	Kaliāri
	Kāpikā	>	$Kar{a}var{\imath}$
	Mānkanikā	>	Māṅkani
	Mottaka	>	Moțā
	Variavi	>	$Variar{a}v$

CAULUKYA

Chhatrāharu > Chhatrāra
Dāngarüā > Dāngarwā
Lāngaṇaijya > Lānghaṇaj
Nīlacchī > Nilki
Utaracha > Utaraj
Vīsaṇavelī > Visanvel
Indrāvaḍa > Indrāḍ
Rāṇeloya > Ranela (?)

D. Dropping of the Final Vowel or Letter

Ābūya> Ābu(cf. Arbuda)> ĀbuGambhutā> GāmbhuBhojuyā> BhojwaGhāriāvali> GhāriālMaṇḍali> MāṇḍalŢimbāṇaka> Ţimāṇā

III, PLACE-NAMES HAVING UNDERGONE MUCH CHANGE

A. Change in all the Syllables.

Pre-Traikūṭaka (circa 100 A.D.)

(Cf. Bhārukacchānām, Junnar Cave).

Kațaccūri

Treyaṇṇa

Bharukaccha > Bharuch

Gurjjara	Rastrakuta
Akrūreśvara > Ankleśvar Ankuleśvara > Ankleśar	Ambāpāṭaka > Āmaḍpur or Āmrapura (?)
-do- in Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Bharukaccha (cf. Bilīśvara Baleśvar > Balesar)do- in Rāṣṭrakūṭa -do- in Maitraka	Apūvalla > Abuvel Āsalivalli > Aslāli Brāhmaṇapallikā > Bāmroli Chatuḥsarī > Chosār
Jaravadra > Jolvā Kheṭaka > Kheḍā Saṅgamakheṭaka > Saṅkhedā	Dhaḍayāsaha > Dhuṇḍesā Dhannavallikā > Dhānoli Govaṭṭana > Kotnā
Kāyāvatāra or > Kāravān Kāyāvarohana	Javalakūpakam > Jolvā Jharivallikā > Jaroli Karpaṭavāṇijya > Kapaḍvanj
Kemajju > Kimoj Nāndīpurī > Nāndod Phalahavadra > Phalod	Kāśahrada > Kāsundrā Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa > Kāthmandvā Liṅgataḍāgikā > S'aṅkartalao
S'irīṣapadraka > Sisodrā Vārṇera > Walner	Uppalahatthaka > Uplāt Vaḍavallī > Vālod Vaḍapadraka > Vaḍodrā
Cahamana Bhrgukaccha	Vagghāccha > Vaghoḍiā Vyāghrāsa > Vaghās Vāraḍapallikā > Bārdolī
Akrūreśvara Calukya	Vavviyana > Baben Vavulālā > Baboolgām Vinhuchavalli > Vijhol
Osumbhel > Umbhal	$Kalluv\bar{i}$ $> K\bar{a}l\bar{u}$

Ten

 $Purar{a}var{\imath}$

> Purņā

Rastrakuta			Dvārāvatī		Dvārkā
** * * * * -		•••	Ghāriyāvalī		· Ghariāl
Vehichchā	>	Vehara (Khādī)		>	· Godhrā
0-7		N. of Vāsad	Guṁḍāüka	>	· Gondau
Sīharakhī	>	Contin	Ghaṇṭāpalī	>	Ghantoli
Vahuņādaśvā	>	 Bonad 	Staṁbhatīrtha	>	Khaṁbhāt
T embar $ar{u}$ ka	>	Timburvā	Tā $ladhvaja$	>	$Talar{a}jar{a}$
Talapadraka	>	$Talodar{a}$	Tanukotta	>	Tanot
Va t a p a d ra	>	Wardla (?)	Ţiṁbãnaka	>	Ţimāṇā
Lingavațaśiva	>	Lingād	Jonanagha	>	Jornang
Simhapura	>	Sīhor	Jīrnadurga	>	Junāgadh
Hastavapra	>	Hāthab	Kachāvalī	>	Kacholi
V arddham $ar{a}$ na	>	Vadhvān	Kāṁvalaiili	>	Kamlol
		(Wadhvan)	Lātivadra	>	Lātodrā
		• ,	Kirātakūpa	>	Kirādu
CAULUKYA			Kuïyala	>	Kiol or Kiyal
			Kumbhāroṭaka	>	Kāmrod
Aṇahilapāṭaka	>	<i>Anāvāḍā</i> or	Mangalapura	>	Māṅgrol
	>	$Anar{a}v(a)dar{a}$	Mohadavāsaka	>	Modāsā
Araṭhaüra	>	Aithor	Nadūlaţadāgikā	>	Nādlāï
$ar{A}$ \dot{m} valas $ar{a}$ d h i	>	Amalsāḍ	Naṁdāvasaṇa	>	Nandāsan
(cf. Badarasiddhi	>	Borsad)	Rājāsiyanī	>	Rakhianā
Citrakūţa	>	Chitod	Rinasihavasana	>	Ranāsan
Caṁdāvasaņa	>	Chadāsan	Satyapura	>	Sāñchor
Darbhāvatī	>	Dabhoï	Simhapura	>	Sīhor
Dadhimatī	>	Dehamaï	Sirsāvi	>	Sarasao
Dadhipadra	>	Dāhəd	Vāmanasthalī	>	Vanth(a)li
Dalāüdra	>	Dalod	Valaïja	>	Balej
Dhavalakka	>	$Dholk\bar{a}$	Varunasarmma-	>	$Vad(a)sam\bar{a}$
Ţ heḍhavasaṇa		Dheḍāsan	kiya p adra	-	· ····································

B. Change in the Initial Syllable.

CAULUKYA

Āhirāṇa	>	Irāna	Mahisāṇā	>	Mehsānā
Kuṣaloḍa	>	Ukhlod	(cf. Sk. Mahişa=	∈Gι	$ij. Bhe\dot{m}s(a)$

Gurjjara		Sāhilavāḍā	>	Selvāḍā
Dahithali	> Dethali	Tribha	>	Tarabh
Bramāna	> Bāmaniya (?)	$Var{a}$ lauya	>	$Bar{a}lavar{a}$
Umbara	> Bāgumbrā	Ubhaloḍa	>	Abhalod
Kṣārvā	> Khārvā	Vahichara	>	Bechar

CAULUKYA ·

Mehunā > Mahunā Phīmcadī > Phechadī

So it is not possible to say from a comparison between the inscriptional and modern place-names alone what the old language of Gujarat was. But a further study might reveal the elements that have crept into the existing language.

Administrative Systems

In the second lecture I reviewed briefly first the nature of epigraphic evidence on territorial units prevalent in ancient Gujarat and then by a detailed study reconstructed the territorial units existing in N. Gujarat during the Caulukya period. Their reconstruction and the comparison in their sizes and number with the modern units showed a fairly close resemblance. It is difficult to say whether such affinity between the old and new units will be discovered in other parts of India. For no studies of this nature have been made.

But from inscriptions found in other parts of India we can have a general idea of the administrative systems and particulary the nature of place-names existing elsewhere in India, and the way in which these differed from those in Gujarat.

I can refer to certain areas only; those which have come within my or my pupils' studies, and those about which scholars have already written. Such areas are parts of C.P., C.I., U.P., Rajputana, the Deccan, Karnataka and Bengal.

First, regarding the territorial or administrative units. As I have already observed in the second lecture and also before from the Gupta period onwards India had a fairly common administrative system in which rāṣṭra, viṣaya, bhukti, pathaka, āhāra, and grāma formed the principal units. Some parts had deśa as the largest unit, and maṇḍala

¹ See The Archaeology of Gujarat.

in place of *rāṣṭra* or *viṣaya*. This depended upon the size and nature of the kingdom or empire. But besides these there were certain local units, used in one part and unknown elsewhere.

Thus in Gujarat-Kathiawad over and above the large units mentioned just now, we had sthalī, prāpya and prāveśya almost confined to Kathiawad. These are absent from Gujarat proper, the Deccan and Karnatak, C. I., C. P., U. P. and Bengal. In the last i. e. Bengal, from the Gupta time onwards some of the chief units were the bhukti, viṣaya, maṇḍala, vīthi and grāma. Here we see the absence of āhāra and pathaka, but in their place a unit, called vīthi, which seems to be unknown to Gujarat. Later after the Pālas, three smaller units, pāṭaka, caturaka and āvṛtti came into prominence. 2

But āhāra and pathaka however were current in C. P. and U. P.

In parts of C. P. and C. I. which were ruled by $V\bar{a}k\bar{a}takas$, the highest unit seems to have been the visaya; under it were $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$, bhoga and petha. The unit bhoga is found once or twice in Eastern Gujarat, but petha seems to be a speciality of these parts and $Karn\bar{a}taka$ and appears to be the ancestor of Marathi Peth(a), now meaning a street, or rather a section of the city all over $Mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}stra$. Nearer home, in the Deccan and Karnataka, rattha or $r\bar{a}stra$, it seems, was the largest unit in the earlier period. But after the 5th-6th century, desa took its place,—though a unit Goparastra is mentioned once,—and under it in the descending order were mandala, bhukti, visaya, ahara, pathaka, bhoga, and grama. Of course the order was not fixed. It varied from place to place or from ruler to ruler.

Rajputana had nearly the same territorial units as Northern Gujarat.

This very brief survey shows in what relation Gujarat stood in the domain of administrative systems to other parts of India. Future detailed studies, I hope, will bring forth more differences, if any, and at the same time the parallelisms not known hitherto.

Place-Name Patterns

Place-names, both ancient and modern, can be compared in greater detail with those of Bengal and the Deccan-Karnāṭaka but my com-

¹ History of Bengal, 265.

² Ibid 208

ments will be necessarily brief, limited only to the striking affinities and differences.

For Bengal we have the recent work of Goswami alluded to by me before. The inscriptional place-names of the Deccan-Karṇāṭaka from about 500-1300 A.D. have been collected by Dr. A. V. NAIK, who has worked on the archaeology of these regions. The modern place-names have been gathered by my colleague Dr. Karve who is studying them from sociological point of view. I am indebted to these scholars for their kindness in allowing me to use the material collected by them for a comparative study.

In the Deccan, as in Gujarat, almost all the place-names from the 5th century onwards are in Sanskrit or Sanskritized. These characteristics generally seem to persist till the end, i.e. up to the 14th century in inscriptions. Thus to take familiar examples, we have Punya and Punaka-viṣaya for Pune or Poona, Darppapūdikā for Dāpodī, Bheñsari for Bhavsari or Bhosari; Khambhagrāma for Khāmgam, Vorimagrāma for Boree; Dāḍimagrāma for Dolembā, and Ālandīya-grāma for Ālandī; Thiūra for Theur; Araluva for Urli; Pāļatthāna-viṣaya for Phaltan and Muīlā-nadī for the Mulā river. Thus a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 9th century, inscription accurately describes the topography of Poona and its vicinity, but in a vocabulary which is largely Sanskritized. Wherever the inscriptional names can be identified, the case will be found to be similar. Three centuries later the Silāhāra records called Thāṇā as Sthānaka, but as old Marathi is used in the actual grant portion, many of the place-names retain their existing Prakrit forms.

Are we to understand that till the 10th-11th century Sanskrit was the court language in the Deccan and understood by one and all?

With Karṇāṭaka the case is slightly different. Till about the 5th century, the earlier Prakrit and the contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kadambas and others mention place-names which do not appear to be characteristically Kannaḍa. But the Kannaḍa influence begins to appear from the 7th-8th century onwards¹, so that the actual grant portion, including the names of persons and places can be easily described as old Kannaḍa.

¹ See NARASIMHIA, A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions, 1941; and GAI, Historical Grammar of Old Kannada, 1946.

A few examples of the place-name endings will illustrate the point. In the Deccan place-names we have the endings pura, nagara, vāṭa or vāṭikā, vāḍā, vāḍi, valli, pallikā, sthāna, -iya, kā or ka; in Karṇāṭaka, we have a few puras and nagaras with the principal name in Kannaḍa or at times in Sanskrit, but a large majority of places like Aṇṇigere, Iṭṭage, and endings with li or lli, and paṭṭi. Not only the general ending grāma is uncommon, but many of the so-called Sanskrit suffixes or endings are rare, and the names themselves are in Kannaḍa. In this respect Karṇāṭaka seems to have shaken off the Sanskrit influence much earlier or imbibed it less than either the Deccan or Gujarat.

But much more surprising appears to be the fact that in the Deccan epigraphy there is not a single place-name after the 6th century with the ending padra, vadra or vasana and a few only with pāṭaka, pallī and valli. Padra is found in an early Sātavāhana inscription, once for a place in the present Nasik District and the other time for a place in the present Thana District. Are we to assume that the padra-belt of place-names belongs to Gujarat and other Northern regions, and had spread in the 3rd-4th century up to Nasik in the south? The conclusion seems to be very startling and I would leave it as it is, unless further corroboration is available. If it is confirmed, it would further show that the writers of epigraphs did not so tamper with the then existing names, while sanskritizing them, as to change them completely, but remained true to their inherent regional forms. For place-name endings in -padra are found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions from Gujarat, while they do not occur in those from the Deccan and Karnāṭaka.

Another significant difference is that already in the Deccan-Karṇā-taka records of the 8th-9th century we find the place-names ending in é, for example, Kiṇayigé, Karanḍigé, for places round about Kolhapur; Cāṇḍigé, Miriñjé. This ending -é is a characteristic feature of the modern place and personal (surnames) names in the Deccan. Since in inscriptions it largely occurs in place-names in and on the Karṇāṭaka border, it would not be surprising if it is ultimately proved to be of Karnāṭaka or Dravidian origin.

Rarely the $-\dot{e}$ ending is found in the old and as well as new place-names of Gujarat.

The Deccan being a hilly and plateau region, place-names indicating or bearing on its physiographic features will be found. We would await

with interest the results of Drs. Karve's and Naik's studies about place-names of the Deccan, when further detailed comparison with Gujarat place-names will be possible.

In Bengal the inscriptional evidence regarding place-names does not take us at present beyond the 6th century A.D., though we have a limestone plaque from *Mahāsthān* (of the Mauryan period), which mentions *Pumḍaṇagala* (*Puṇḍranagara*). But from 400 A.D. the evidence is available in an unbroken chain right up to 1200 A.D. Here too Mr. Goswami has noted that many of the place-names are in Sanskrit or sanskritized with a good sprinkling of *Deśī* names, though he has not traced their development, nor said whether in the later records we get more Prakrit names than in the earlier period. He has also not first clearly classified and grouped the various endings. But analysing the names we get the following endings: (I have omitted some where I was doubtful of the true ending).

$Par{a}$ taka $> Par{a}$ d $ar{a} > Par{a}$ r $ar{a}$	Valli
Vāṭaka	<i>Teṅkari</i>
Vṛndaka	Khāḍi
Sikā	Kaṇḍi
$Goh\bar{a}l\bar{i} > Goal$	<i>Pāhara</i>
Puñjaka	Thāna
Kuṇḍa > Koṇḍa	Nagara
Avakāśikā	Khāmbhava > Khabha
$Vil\bar{a}$ $ti > V\bar{a}$ $d\bar{i}$ (?)	Bhiṭṭa > Bhiṭṭi or Bhiṭā
Jotikā or Yota > Jota > Jola	Gaccha
Vāṭa	Guḍi
Carmmața > Cammaḍa > Cāmṛā	Vola
Vāḍī	Pokhira
Roţţikā	$Par{a}la$
Voraka > Vola > Pola	Bhoga
Pallikā	Muṇḍa
	Dvipa.

Evén after the omission of a few doubtful ones, the list is much larger than that of Gujarat inscriptional place-names. Among the Sanskrit endings common with those from Gujarat are pura, nagara, pāṭaka, vāṭaka, vāṭa, vāḍē, pallikā, valli. There is the total absence of padra or vadra and vasana, or even sara, though there are many others

for lakes, ponds and other types of drainage. $Pall\bar{\imath}$ and valli are comparatively very few. $P\bar{a}taka$ becomes $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ or $p\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ in modern Bengali.

But among the rest, a fairly large number are characteristic of Bengal, a land of large rivers, and numerous large and small water-courses, and a land which was for long beyond the pale of Aryan civilization, and even now has on its north-eastern as well as on its western and southern borders pockets of primitive tribes, probably aboriginals of the land.

Expressive of its varied drainage system are the endings $Jotik\bar{a}$ or Yota, modern Jota or Jola; Jod, Judi, Judi; $Kh\bar{a}di > Kh\bar{a}ri$, (ditch); Kundi, $P\bar{a}hara$ and Pokhara (pond), $Avasik\bar{a}$ or $Sik\bar{a}$ (channel) and $V\bar{a}pika$; so also are the expressions " $Satatapadm\bar{a}v\bar{a}ti$, house on the bank of $Padm\bar{a}$ ", signifying the way how a large number of people live on the river; indicative of other types of homesteads are the endings Bhitti, Bhiti or $Bhit\bar{a}$ and of the marshy character of the land are the endings—a large number—Vilati or $V\bar{a}d\bar{i}$; of Bengal's extensive fields Voraka > Vola > Pola; its groves and forests, Punjaka, Gaccha, and Vrndaka; of its hills and hillocks endings like Tenkari and Kunda > Konda.

Correlating some of the ancient place-name endings with modern Bengali place-names, Goswami finds that "the endings jola, joli, joṭa, joṭikā meaning channel, water-course, river-water are quite abundant specially in the districts of West Bengal"; so also the place-names with the endings in kuṇḍa, kuṇḍi or koṇḍa (high land). Modern place-names in deltaic Bengal abound in names of various fishes, one of the most common dishes of the people.

Since I am not dealing with modern place-names, it is not necessary to follow further Mr. Goswami's studies, but it is necessary to note his conclusion that many of the endings show Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burmese affinities. Thus jola, bhitti or bhiti (house), guḍḍi, gaḍḍa, guḍi, pola and vola (field), kuṇḍa (hill or hillock) are similar to or identical with words in the Dravidian languages, Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa.

Those ending in munda or da betray Austro-Asiatic or Munda or Kolarian influence, whereas words $c\bar{c}$ or ca meaning water are supposed to be of Tibeto-Burman origin.

These place-name studies reveal how Bengal, which according to later Vedic literature was not Aryanized for a long time, in spite of its later rapid Aryanization, still retains many of its varied non-Aryan traits; while Gujarat and the Deccan show a greater degree of Aryanization. Bengal, being nearer to the primitive cultures of the Far East and even now surrounded by these, has more of the non-Aryan Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian elements, while Gujarat on account of its proximity to the Northern Aryan culture has a preponderance of its elements. However, some names and name-endings as shown above do point to an earlier (?) Austro-Asiatic cultural phase in Gujarat.

Prehistoric Archaeology also seems to favour this view. For the Stone Age industries of the *Sābarmatī*, *Narmadā*, Orsang and Karjan valleys, most probably of the Middle Pleistocene period, the geological period when man first came to live in what is now called Gujarat, show such resemblance to the geologically earlier South Indian industries that in our present state of knowledge it appears that Early Man with his Stone Age culture came to Gujarat from South India.

Personal Names

Personal names from inscriptions from other parts of India have not been so far studied. My studies of the Deccan personal names of the early centuries of the Christian era incline me to the view that these names,—the sources of which are the donatory inscriptions at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Mathura—which were mostly inspired by the new faiths, Jainism and Buddhism, or the existing Rudra and Nāga cult will show more or less the same features as shown by the Deccan names found in the caves in the Western Ghat, and at Amaravati, Jagayyapeṭṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Āndhra.

After the 4th century the names are mostly of *Brāhmaṇas* and are in Sanskrit. But here too the *Karṇāṭaka* inscriptions of the 6th century and later show distinct *Kannaḍa* touch. Whether these or inscriptions from other parts of India will be so rich in names of the common people as some of those of Gujarat, I cannot say off-hand. Very probably not. But these when collected and studied will throw additional light on the results obtained by place-name studies.

Corroboration from other Sources Necessary

The study of inscriptional places and peoples has thrown light on several aspects of ancient and early mediaeval culture of Gujarat and their corresponding modern counterparts. But this light has been from one side only. What is necessary is to make the subjects discussed in these lectures more exhaustive and comprehensive. Then only we shall know how far the conclusions or suggestions arrived at are wrong and need modification.

New Lines of Investigation

Actual field work, visit to every village identified or now mentioned in revenue and postal directories is necessary. The investigator should note in this survey the physical, geographical, or traditional causes which are supposed to be responsible for the name of the place visited. He should also note the different ways in which the name is pronounced and written, by the various communities inhabiting the village.

Side by side with these we must have a corpus of place-and personal names occurring in early mediaeval Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and another similar corpus from Arabic, Persian, and 16th century and later *Gujarātī* and *Marāṭhī* and *Modi* papers of the Maratha period, and the early maps prepared during the East India Company's period.

Collection of the data from all these sources of the post-thirteenth century and the pre-thirteenth century inscriptional and literary data will give us a regular series of names of places and peoples, wherein the historian and the linguistician will find the missing intermediate forms so necessary for the true reconstruction of cultural history of a region.

Attention should also be devoted to the collection of surnames by castes and sub-castes, noting wherever possible the original, traditional or otherwise, place of residence and the profession followed by the members, say, 50 or preferably 100 years ago. Such a study alone can reveal the various social and cultural factors underlying a surname. For welcome as is the study of *Gujarātī* surnames by Mrs. Vinodini NILAKANTHA, it does not go far enough.

Cognate to this is the study of *Brāhmaṇas*. As I have said previously WILSON's and ENTHOVEN's study, admirable as they were for the period

when they were written, give us but few details. Since these pioneers wrote, good work is being done by the School of Sociology, but probably for want of suitable students the work is very slow. Unless it can be expedited and the several $Br\bar{a}hmana$ sub-castes systematically surveyed, followed at the same time by their anthropological survey, as is being done in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, no fruitful results will be obtained. Meanwhile the evidence is fast disappearing or being more and more contaminated.

So much for the semi-linguistic, historico-geographical, sociological and anthropological studies. I turn now to the investigation of history through archaeology. Students of Gujarat's historic archaeology know that very little is known about Southern and Central Gujarat, whereas we do know something of Northern Gujarat and Kathiawad through the surveys of surface monuments in the last century by Burgess and Cousens.

How are we to search for fresh old monuments? Either there must be some clues which when followed up may reveal the hidden or even surface monument and its true historical value or there must be a systematic survey, taluka by taluka, as Mr. Gadre of the Baroda Archaeological Department was doing up to last year since 1934, but which is now stopped for want of assistants. This work is both costly and long.

Here the inscriptions can help. They sometimes refer to a temple or other monument erected at a certain place. If this place is identified, then a visit to the place will most probably lead to the discovery of the monument. Even where no monument is mentioned in inscriptions, it would be worth while to investigate all those places which have been mentioned and identified. The identifications give invaluable clues as to the antiquity of the place, and in the absence of regular village-to-village surveys, the only and the most important clues. A personal visit to these places may show, besides surface monuments, in many cases the ancient mounds. The study of these mounds, the debris strewn over them, might lead us to ancient potsherds, the most indestructible and important evidence of the once existing habitation at the place.

The present study of place-names has already brought to light a number of such places in Southern, Central, and Northern Gujarat and

Kathiawad. These should now be visited and systematically investigated. The investigator need not confine himself merely to the archaeological account of the place. He should interest himself in the complete cultural history of the place. Previous training and interest in the subjects dealt with here should enable him to prepare a full casehistory of the areas he visits. These will form the basis for all subsequent archaeological, linguistic and sociological investigations.

It must have been evident that my studies have revealed only a few facets, in some cases very dimly indeed, of Gujarat's past culture through historical and cultural geography and ethnography. These must needs be supplemented soon by several field surveys.

When and whether the regional Universities will come into existence one does not know. But it is not too much to hope that various research institutions, besides the University of Bombay, will make provisions for these archaeological, sociological and linguistic studies. If started in the near future on a well-planned scheme and worked out systematically by a trained body of workers, we shall have in a decade or so the true basis for writing a comprehensive history of Gujarat and other regions.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PLACE-NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Ābuya -grāma	EI. VIII.222.	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	$ar{A}bu$
Ādhīvāḍā -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka	1A. VI. 196-99	Jayanita- siniha V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	Ādivāḍā.
Ahada in Medapāṭa - Maṇḍala	AIOCR. VII. 643	Bhīma II	Udaipur	Ahaḍa
\hat{A} hirāṇā -grāma in V iṣaya and D aṇḍāhī-pathaka.	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla v.s. 1299	N. Gujarat	Irāṇā
Āikayikā -grāma in Kaccha-maṇḍala	IA. VI. 193-94	<i>Bhīma</i> 1 v.s. 1086	Cutch	Ekaliyu(?) (Lakhpat)
Ākavalīyā -grāma in Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala	IA. XVIII. 112-114	<i>Rhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1266	S. Kathiawar	Ānkala (?) (Junāgaḍh)
Ākhī -grāma	EI. VIII. 219-29	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1287	S. Rajaputana N. Gujarat	Not identified. Could it be connected with Nakhi lake?
Ālaviḍagāmva -grāma in Ā(mā?) khulagāmva - grāma in Pūrņa-pathaka in Narmadā-tata-maṇḍala	1A. XVIII. 82-84	Ajayapāla V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	Not identified.
Aṇahilapāṭaka -nagara	IA. X. 159-60	Jayasimha v.s. 1196	N. Gujarat	$Anar{a}v(a)da$
Do	IA. XI. 71	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
Do	Do 242	Arjunadeva V.S. 1320	Do	Do
Anahilapāṭaka -pura	BPSI. 184	Kumārapāla V.S. 1225	Do	Do
O	EI. VIII. 219 - 29	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1287	Do	Do
Srīmat-Aṇahilapura	RLARBP. 328, 31. 33, 41, 44	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
S rīmat-Aṇahilapāṭa- ka	IA. 41. 21 V.S. 1348.	Sāraṅgadeva V.S. 1348	Do	Do
S r i- \hat{A} n a n d a - n a gara	BPSI. 184	Kumāra- pāla v.s. 1225.	Do	Vadnagar (?)
Ānamda-pura	EI. I. 299	Kumāra- pāla v.s. 1208.	Do	Do.
Do	EI. XIX. 243	Siyaka-v.s. 1005	Do	
Do	HIG. III. 101.	Sāraṅga- deva	Do	Do
Do	Ibid. 97	Do	Do	Do
Srīmat-Ānamda-pura	EI. 1. 317	Karņa 1	Do	3
Āṅgaṇavāḍā -grāma	IA. VI. 203-4	Bhīma II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	Anganavāḍā (Anganwara)
Arathaüra -grāma in Daṇḍāhī -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	Do	Aithor
Srīmat-Arbuda	EI. VIII. 219-29	Bhīma II v.s. 1287.	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat.	Mt. Abu
Arbudācala-mahā- tīrtha	RLARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1288	Do	Do
Ariśata -pathaka	IA. VI. 202	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1287.		Not identified
Āśāpalli in Varddhi -	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsāladeva		Do.
pathaka (?)		v.s. 1317.		Perhaps Aslali.
Āśviliyā in Ubhaloḍa	IA. X. 159-60	Jayasiriha	Central Gujarat	
pathaka in Godra-		v.s. 1196	,	(Godhra)
haka-mahāmaṇḍala		and 1202		,
Āvala) Āmvali — sāḍhi—	JBBRAS. 26. 250	Karṇa I v.s. 1131 also Saka 996	S. Gujarat	Amalsāḍ
in Nāgasārikā-viṣaya in Lāṭa deśa				
Avantī in Mālava- Kānyakubja Viṣaya	BPSI. 186	V.S. 1225	Malwa C. India	Ujjain

PLACE-NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Avayāṇija -grāma in	IA. VI. 199. 200		N. Gujarat	Not identified.
Cālīsā -pathaka. Bāmbhaṇavāḍā in Gambhūtā -pathaka	Important Inscriptions 73.	V.S. 1283 <i>Mūlarāja</i> 11 V.S. 1232	Do	Brāhmaṇavāḍā (Chansma Taluka)
Bhaḍānā -grāma in Gaṁbhūtā -pathaka	HIG. III 198	Jayasimha V.S. 1193	Do	Not identified.
Bhadrāṇaka in Srī	BPSI. 204-5	Bhīma 11	South-west	Bharānā
S aurāṣṭrakadeśa		V.S. 1275	Kathiawad	(Jamnagar).
S'rī Bhāillasvāmi	IA. XVIII.	Ajayapāla	Malwa	Bhilsa
mahā-12-maṇḍala	347-48.	V.S. 1229	Central India	
Bhālibhāḍā -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	Bhīma 1	S. Rajputana	Not identified
. 5		v.s. 1287	7.	
Bhāṭuṭṭa -padra- nagara	PO. I. ii. 44	Kumārapāla V.S. 1210	Do	Bhāṭunda Bhākhar
Bhāmṣara -grāma in	IA. VI. 208-10.	Tribhuvana-	N. Gujarat	Bhākhar
Vişaya and Daṇḍāhi		pāla. v.s.		
pathaka		1299		
Bhojuyā -grāma in	ia. vi. 205-6	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Bhojwa, 3 miles
Varddhi -pathaka		V.S. 1295		northwest of Viramgam.
Brahmapurī -grāma	BPSI, 186	Kumārapāla	Southwest	Not identified
on or near the <i>Hi-</i> raṇyā-nadī		V.S. 1225	Kathiawad	
<i>Brahmapurī</i> in Var- ddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsaladeva V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat (?)	Do
Bhṛṇigārika-64-	IA. XVIII. 347	Ajayapāla	Malwa	Do
pathaka	21,	V.S. 1229	Central India	
Bhūharaḍā -grāma in	IA. XVIII.	Bhīma 11	Southern	Bhutw $\tilde{a}r(d)$ 5 miles
Surāsṭra -maṇḍala	112-14	v.s. 1266	Kathiawad	west of Jetalsar.
Bramāṇa	EI. VIII. 220	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Can it be Bāma-
·		v.s. 1287	N. Gujarat	niya (Sudasna)?
Brāhmaņa -pāṭaka	IA. XVIII. 82. 4	Ajayapāla	Central	Not identified
	•	V.S. 1231	Gujarat	
Cālīsā -pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Do
Caniḍāvasaṇa -grāma	IA. VI. 208. 10	Tribhuvana-		$Chad\bar{a}(ra)san$
in Visaya and Dandāh		pāla. v.s.	,	(,
pathaka.		1299		
Candrāvatī	EI. VIII. 219	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Chandrawati
	>	v.s. 1287	.,	
Cāndrāpalli in	HIG. III	Kumārapāla	N. Gujarat	(Not identified)
Gambhūtā -pathaka	199. 200	V.S. 1202.	.,	(
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INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Chatrāharu -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Perhaps Chhat-
Vālauya-pathaka	203-4	v.s. 1288		rāra or Chhatral
Chimdriyāla(-grāma) in	EI. XXI.	Bhīma 1	Do	Not identified
Dhāṇadā-āhāra-pathaka	a 172	V.S. 1120		
Citrakūṭa	BPSI 227	Rāmadeva V.S. 1352	Rajputana	Chitod
Coḍa	PO. I. ii.50	<i>Kumārapāla</i> V. S. 1218	Do	Chola
Coruyāvāḍa	BPSI 158	Kumārapāla V.S. 1202	S.W. Kathia-awad	Chorwad.
Cūnnari -grāma	IA. VI.	$Var{\imath}$ salade v a	N. Gujarat	Not identified
•	210 -12	v.s. 1317		
Cuyāmtija -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do.
Cālīsā -pathaka.	199. 200	v.s. 1283		
Dāngaraüā -grāma in	IA. VI	Tribhuvana-	N. Gujarat	Dāṅgarwa
Daṇḍāhī pathaka	208. 10	pāla		
· -		V.S. 1299		
Darbhāvatī in	RLARBP. 328,	Bhīma 11	Central	Dabhoi.
Gurjara -maṇḍala	31, 33, 41,44.	v.s. 1288	Gujarat.	
Dāsayaja -grāma in	IA. VI. 208. 10	Tribhuvana-	N. Gujarat	Dāsaj.
Vişaya -Daṇḍāhī -		pāla		
pathaka.		V.S. 1299		
Davāṇī -grāma	EI. VIII. 221	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Dabani, 7 miles
		v.s. 1287	N. Gujarat	northwest west
				of Delvada,
				Mt. Abu.
(Laghu) Ņābhī -grāma	EI. I. 317	Karṇa ! V.S. 1148	N. Gujarat	<i>Dābhi</i>
Dadhimatī -nadī	IA. X. 159.	Jayasimha	Central	Dehamaï
		v.s. 1196	Gujarat	
Dadhipadra	Do	Do	Do	Dāhod or Dohad.
Do -maṇḍala	Do	Do	Do	Do
<u> P</u> ãhaḍa	EI. VIII.	Bhīma 11		Not identified.
	221	v.s. 1287.		
Dālaüdra -grāma	IA. VI.	Bhīma II	N. Gujarat	Dalod
in Varddhi-pathaka.	206-8	v.s. 1296		
Daṇḍāhī -pathaka	IA. XI. 71-3	Bhīma 11	Do	Daindāhi of
		v.s. 1256.		Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
Do	IA. VI. 208	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	Do	Do

PLACE-NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
<i>Devāū -grāma</i> in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 201-3	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	Not Identified
Deülī grāma in Bhāïllāsvāmi (12).	1A. XVIII. 344	Ajayapāla V.S. 1229	Malwa C. India.	Do
Deülavāḍā -grāma in	1A. VI. 194-5	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Delwara
Gambhūtā -pathaka Deülavāḍā -grāma on	EI. VIII. 222	V.S. 1262 <i>Bhīma</i> II	S. Rajputana	(Delvāḍā) Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu.
S'rī-Arbuda Devanagara for	BPSI. 184	v. s. 1287 Kumārapāla	N. Gujarat S.W. Kathia-	Somnath.
(Somanāthadeva-	Bi 31. 104	V.S. 1225	wad	oonmatn.
nagara). Dhāmaṇacchā -grāma	JBBRAS.	Karṇa 1	S. Gujarat	Dhamadachã
in <i>Talabhadrikā</i> -36 in	26. 250	Saka 996		(Dhārāchha).
Nāgasārikā -viṣaya,				
Lāṭadeśa. Dhāṇadā -āhāra -	ri vvi	Bhīma 1	N. Gujarat	Dhanda about
pathaka	EI. XXI. 171-72	v.s. 1126	N. Gujarat	10 miles east of
F	-1-1-			Palanpur.
Dhaṇāra grāma in	ei. x. 78-9	Mūlarāja I	S. Rajputana	Dantwara (?)
Satyapura-maṇḍala		v.s. 1051	N. Gujarat	Sanchor, Jodhpur.
Dhārāpurī	BPSI. 186	Kumārapāla V.S. 1225	Malwa C. India.	Dhārā
<i>Dharavadrikā</i> in	IA. VI.	Bhīma I	Cutch	Dhared (?) Bhuj,
Kaccha-maṇḍala	193-4	v.s. 1086		Cutch.
Dhaülī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Dhauli 8 miles
		v.s. 1287	N. Gujarat	west south-west of <i>Delvāḍā</i>
Dhavalakka in	RLARBP. 328,	$Bhar{\imath}ma$ 11	Central	Dholka
Gurjara-maṇḍala	31, 33, 41, 44.	v.s. 1288	Kathiawad	
Dhedha-vasana in	IA. VI. 206.8	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Þh eḍ ā san
Varddhi -pathaka		V. S. 1296	D.	7) 1: -1
Doḍiyā -pataka in Gaṁbhūtā -pathaka	IA. VI.	Jayainta- siinha	Do	<i>Doḍivāḍā</i> 12 miles southwest
Оатопина -ранпака		v.s. 1280.		of Gāmbhu
Dohalikā -grāma in	IA. XI. 71-3.	8hīma 11	Do	Not identified
Daṇḍāhī -pathaka	/ - J	v.s. 1256	_ •	
Ducānā in Varddhi -	ia. vi. 205-6	Bhīma 11	Do	Dumāna
pathaka		v.s. 1295.		

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
<i>Dūdhukha - grāma</i> in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsaladeva V.S. 1317	Do	Might be Dudha about 6 miles west of Patan.
$Dvar{a}rar{a}vatar{\imath}$	PO. 2.227	Arjunadeva V.s. 1320.	S.W. Kathia- war	Dwarka.
Ganibhūtā - pathaka	ніб. ііі. 198	Jayasiniha	N. Gujarat	Gănibhu
Do	Ibid. 199. 200	V.S. 1193 <i>Kumārapāla</i> V.S. 1202	Do	Do
Do	Imp. Inscr.	<i>Mūlarāja</i> 11 v.s. 1232.	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 194-5	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1263.	Do	Do
Gābhalā-grāma in Dīlavika	EI. II. 26.		N. Gujarat	(perhaps near Dilmal).
Ghadahaḍikā -12 in Kaccha -maṇḍala	IA.VI. 193-4	<i>Bhīma</i> 1 v.s. 1086	Cutch	Ghadhada or Ghad (Bhuj).
Ghaṅṭāpalli	AIOCR	Bhoja, (Paramara)	Central Gujarat	Ghantoli (Sankheḍā)
	t (Poona)	v.s. 1003.		
Ghamțelānā -grāma in	IA. XVIII.	$Bhar{\imath}ma$ 11	Central	Ghatila (?) 3
Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala	112-4	v.s. 1266	Kathiawad	miles south-east of Shapur.
Ghāīryāvali -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	(mīṭhī) Ghārial
Gambhūtā - pathaka	194-5	v.s. 1263		
Ghūsaḍī -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Perhaps the ori-
Varddhi-pathaka	205-6	V.S. 1295		ginal site of mo- dern Viramgam
Godrahaka -mahā-	IA. X.	Jayasınha	Central	Godhra
maṇḍala	159-60	V.S. 1195	Gujarat.	
Grāmapādra (or Padra	EI. XXI.	Bhīma 1	N. Gujarat	Cannot be
-grāma) in Dhāṇadā-	171-2	V.S. 1120		traced.
hāra-pathaka				
Gundāüka -grāma in	EI. X.	Mūlarāja 1	S. Rajputana	Gondau
Satyapura-maṇḍala	78-9	v.s. 1051		(Sanchor).
Guṁṭhāvāḍā -grāma	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	(Not traced so
in Vālauya-pathaka	203-4	v.s. 1288		far).
Gūrjjara-maṇḍala		Jayasinha	Reference in	
	159-60	v.s. 1196	Dohad Inscr. C. Gujarat.	

PLACE NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Do	BPSI. 186	Kumārapāla V.S. 1225		
Gurjjara-maṇḍala	RLARBP. 328,	Bhīma II	Ref. in Girnar	:
	31, 33, 41, 44.	v.s. 1288	Inscr. Kathiav	vad
Gurjjara-maṇḍala	BPSI. 227	$R\bar{a}madeva$	Ref. in Cambay	,
		V.S. 1352	Inscr.	C. Gujarat
Haṇḍāüdrā - grāma	EI. VIII.	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Undwaria
•	221	v.s. 1287	·-	(Mt. Abu).
Hāṁsalapura -grāma	IA. VI.	Bhīma II	N. Gujarat	Hāsalpur
in Varddhi-pathaka	201-2	v.s. 1287	•	-
Hānīyāṇi -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma II	Do	Nāviāni 2 miles
Varddhi-pathaka		v.s. 1287		southwest of
1		•		Hasalpur.
Hiraṇyā -nadī	BPSI. 186	Kumārapāla	S. W. Kathia-	Hiran river.
.,		V.S. 1225	war	
Hețhaünijī -grāma	EI, VIII.	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Hetamji 2 miles
;······ j· g	222	v.s. 1287	/1	s. of Delvada,
		,		Mt. Abu.
Hurmuja (coast of)	IA. XI. 242	Arjunadeva	Persian Gulf.	Hurmuz
Ilā in Dhāṇadāhāra-	EI. XXI.	Bhīma 1	N. Gujarat	"Not Ilol as sug-
pathaka	171-2	V.S. 1120		gested", Palanpur
<i>Iṁdilā -grāma</i> in	IA. VI.	Bhima 11	N. Gujarat	Indla
Gambhūtā-pathaka	194-5	v.s. 1263		
Imdrāvada in Vișaya	IA. VI.	Tribhuvana-	Do	Indrād
and Daṇḍāhī-pathaka	208-10	<i>pāla</i> V.S. 1299)	
<i>Ițilā -grāma</i> in	IA. VI.	Jayanta-	Do	
<i>Gambhūta</i> -pathaka	196-8	sim h a		
•	•	v.s. 1280		
Joranagha -grāma	Bharatiya	Cāmuṇḍa	Do	Jornag
3	Vidya 1.1	V.S. 1033		
Srīmat Jāṅgala	BPSI. 186	Kumārapā!a		
0		V.S. 1225		
Jīrṇadurga	IA. XV.	Mehara	Kathiawad	$\mathcal{J}unar{a}gad(h)$
J · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	360	Ţ hepaka		• • • • • •
	-	v.s. 1386		
Kachāvali in Tala-	JBRBAS	Karna 1	S. Gujarat	Kacholi
bhadrikā-26 pathaka	26. 250	S'aka 996	•	(Navasari).
in Nāgasārikā-viṣaya	-			•
in Lāṭa-deśa.				
•				

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
K accha-maṇḍala	IA. VI. 193-4	<i>Bhīma</i> 1 v.s. 1086	Cutch	Cutch
Do	IA. XVIII. 109-10	Bhīma II Simha 93	Do	Do Kara
<i>Kaḍā -grāma</i> in <i>Daṇḍāhī</i> -pathaka	IA. XI. 71-3	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1256	N. Gujarat	Kara(?)
Kamboikā -grāma in Modhera -8 in Sāras- vata-maṇḍala	IA. VI. 191-2	Mūlarāja v.s. 1043	N. Gujarat	Kamboi Solanki or <i>Kamboī</i>
Kāmvalaüli -grāma	1A. XI. 337-38	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1264	S. Kathiawad	Kamlol (2 miles west of Talaja)
Karīra -grāma	IA. VI. 194-5	Bhīma 11 fiv.s. 1263	N. Gujarat	Karela according to 'position' in the map.
Karnnāṭa	PO. I. ii. 50	Kumārapāla V.S. 1218	Ref. in an inscr. from Kiradu (Jodhpur)	Karṇāṭaka
Kāroḍā -grāma	Imp. Inscr.	<i>Mūlarāja</i> 11 V.S. 1232	N. Gujarat	Karoḍā (Chansma Taluka, Baroda)
Kāsahrada -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	Bhīma II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Not traced but many places like Anadra, Vandra etc.
Khambhila -grāma in	IA. VI.	Jayamta-	N. Gujarat	Khambel
Varddhi-pathaka	196-98	simha V.S. 1280		
Khanidohaka near Brāhmaņa-pāṭaka	1A. XVIII. 82-4	Ajayapāla V.S. 1231	C. Gujarat	Not identified
Kheṭaka-maṇḍala	EI. XIX 242	<i>Siyaka</i> V.S. 1005	C. Gujarat	Kheda (Kaira)
Khimvana-sthāna Kālharī -grāma in Gambhūtā -pathaka	EI. II. 28 IA. VI. 196-8	V.S. 1217 Jayanita- siniha V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat N. Gujarat	Not identified <i>Kālri</i>
Do	IA. VI. 194-5	Bhīma II v.s. 1263	Do	Do
Kālā - grāma in Talabhadrikā -26- pathaka in Nāgasāri- kā -viṣaya Lāṭa Deśa.	JBBRAS. 26.250	Karņa I S aka 996	S. Gujarat	Perhaps Kalawachh or Khergaon acc. to 'position' (Navsari).

PLACE-NAMES CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCI	E PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
<i>Kāliyāņa -grāma</i> in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	Kāliāna
Kāmbalī -grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhi - pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	Do	Kambli
Kirāṭakupa	PO. I. ii. 51	Kumāra- pāla V.S. 1218.	S. Rajputana	Kiradu (Jodhpur)
Do	Do	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
	p.44	v.s. 1235		
S'rī Do	BPSI. 184	Kumārapāla V.S. 1225.	Do	Do
Kisaraülī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	Bhīma II v.s. 1287	Do	Kivarli, 8 miles southeast of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
<i>Koḍā -grāma</i> in <i>Ubhaloḍa -</i> pathaka	IA. X. 159	Jayasinha V.S. 1202	C. Gujarat	Not identified
Koṭaḍi	EI. VIII. 222	Do	Do	Kotra, 7 miles south of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
Kṣāravāha	1A.X. 159-60	Jayasiṁha v.s. 1196.	C. Gujarat *	Kharva
Kuīyala -grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhī - pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299.	N. Gujarat	Kiol or Kiyal
Kūlā -vasaņa-grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 108-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	Do	Probably Jhula- san (according to 'position')
Kumbhāroṭaka -grāma in Mohaḍāvāsaka -viṣaya in Kheṭaka- maṇḍala.	EI. XIX. 236	<i>Sīyaka</i> v.s. 1005	North and Central Gujarat	Kāmrod (13 miles east of Modasa, Prantij Taluka) Mahi Kantha Agency
Kuralī -grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇdāhī- pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla. v.s. 1299	N. Gujarat	Not traced
Kusaloḍa -grāma	IA. VI. 208	Bhīma II	N. Gujarat	Ukhlod
Lakhaṇaṇḍā -grāma in Bhāilasvāmi -(12) maṇḍala	14. XVIII. 347-48	Ajayapāla V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Not identified

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Lāngaņaijya -grāma	Bhāratīya Vi- dyā, 1.80	<i>Cāmuṇḍa</i> v.s. 1033	N. Gujarat	Lãnghṇaj
Lār(ṭ)a -vasudhā	EI. I. 297	Kumārapāla	Central and Southern Guj.	Lāṭa
<i>Lāṭhivadra</i> -pathaka	BPSI, 158	Kumārapāla V.S. 1202	•	Lāṭodrā, 4 miles east of Mangrol.
Lavamdaḍī -grāma	IA. 41. 203	Kumārapāla V.S. 1213	S. Rajputana	Not identified
Līlāpura	IA. VI. 194-5	Bhīma II V.S. 1262	N. Gujarat	Lilāpur, 12 miles southwest of Viramgam.
Lumdā -vasaņa in Varddhi -pathaka (?)	IA. VI.	Vīsaladeva V.S. 1317	Do	Not identified
Mahā-hāsisala -pura- grāma in Varddhi -pathaka (?)	1A. VI. 196-9	Jayamtasimi V.S. 1280	aa N. Gujarat	Hāsalpur
Mahimsaka	EI. V. 102-3	Vīsaladeva v.s. 1308	Do	Not identified
Mahī -nadī	EI. XIX. 242	<i>Sīyaka</i> v.s. 1005	N. and Central Gujara	Mahi river t
Mahisāṇā -grāma in	IA. XI	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Mehsana
Daṇḍāhī-pathaka	71 -3	v.s. 1256		(Now the capital of this <i>prānt</i> .)
Mākhulagāmva -	IA. XVIII.	Ajayapāla	Central	Not identified.
grāma (42) in Pūrņņa- pathaka in Narbadā- taṭa-maṇḍala.	82 -4	V.S. 1231	Gujarat.	
Mālakatari -grāma	IA. VI	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat.	Malika, about 5
in <i>Gambhūtā</i> -pathaka	194 -5	v.s. 1263		miles south-east of <i>Lilāpur</i> , near Viramgam.
Mãlava	ро. 1. іі. 50	Kumārapāla V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	Malwa
Mālava -deśa	BPSI. 227	Rāmadeva V.S. 1352	Malwa Central India.	Do
Maṇḍalī in Varddhi	IA. VI.	Mūlaraja 1	N. Gujarat	Māndal or Man-
Vișaya Sārasvata - maṇḍala	191 -3	v.s. 1043		dali, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Delmal
Maṇḍali in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
Varddhi -pathaka	201 -2	v.s. 1287		

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INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Do	IA. VI. 207	Do 1296		
Do	IA. VI.	Vīsaladeva	Do	Do
S'rīman -Maṅgalapura	210 -12 BPSI. 158	v.s. 1317 Kumārapāla v.s. 1202	S. Kathiawad	Mangrol, south- west coast of Kathiawad.
Maru maṇḍala	PO. I. 47	Kumārapāla v.s. 1218	S. Rajputana	Marwad. Cf. Me- war (Mewāḍ) Mihiravāḍā ?
Masūra -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 1	Cutch	Cannot be
Ghadahadikā -12 in	193 -4	v.s. 1086		traced
Kaccha -maṇḍala				
S [.] rī -Mātāmahabu	EI. VIII. 222	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	Not identified
-grāma		v.s. 1287		but was on
11. 11 5 5	TA 117 207 2	Bhīma 11	N. Gujarat	Mt. Abu. Can it be
Medherā -grāma	IA. VI. 201-3	V.S. 1287	14. Ciujatat	Mudherā?
Mehūnā -grāma in	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsaladeva	N. Gujarat	Perhaps Mahunā
Varddhi -pathaka		V.S. 1317	,	(Patan Mahal).
Metravāla -grāma in	ei. x. 78-9	Mūlarāja 1	S. Rajputana	Mirpur (?) San-
Satyapura -maṇḍala		v.s. 1051		chor Rajputana
S'rī Modhera -kiya	IA. VI. 191-3	Mūlarāja 1	N. Gujarat	Muḍherā or Moḍ-
in Sārasvata -maṇḍala		v.s. 1043	_	harā
Mohadavāsaka -viṣaya	ei. xix. 236	Sīyaka	Do	Modasa on the
in Kheṭaka -maṇḍala		v.s. 1005		Majham river
				Prantij Taluka
Moundanthala	EI. VIII. 22I	Bhīma 11	S. Rajputana	(Ahmadabad) Murthala, 8 miles
Muṇḍasthala	E1. VIII. 221	V.S. 1287	5. Kajputana	south-east of De-
		7.0. 1207		vada on the rail-
				way line.
Muṇḍaka in Varddhi	JBBRAS. Extra	Bhīma 1	N. Gujarat	Not identified
-viṣaya	No. 49.	v.s. 1086		
S'rī Naḍḍula	PO. I. 44	Kumārapāla v.s. 1216	S. Rajputana	Nādol
Naḍūla -pura	BPSI .205		Do	Do
Nadrāla -pura	BPSI. 172	Kumārapāla	Do	Do
-		V.S. 1209	_	
Nadū(la)taḍāgikā	IA. 41. 203	Kumārapāla	Do	Nādlāi, Deusri
		v.s. 1213		Dist. (Jodhpur)

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Nāgasārikā -viṣaya	JBBRAS 26. 250	Karņa 1 V.S. 1131	S. Gujarat	Navasārī
Nāha -grāma in Bhāilla-svāmi-mahā- dvādaśaka (12) maṇḍala	ia, xviii. 344	Ajayapāla V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Not identified
Namdā -vasaņa -grāma in Viṣaya & Daṇḍāhī -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana pāla V.S. 1299	,	Nandāsan
Narmadā -taṭa - maṇḍala	ia. xviii. 82-4	Ajayapāla V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	
Natāülī -grāma in Cālisā -pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1283	N. Gujarat	Not identified
Navati	VII. A.I.O.C.R. 642~43	<i>Bhīma</i> II v.s. 1263	Udaipur	Nauti
Navanīsaka -sthāna in Kachha -maṇḍala	IA. VI. 193-4	Bhīma 1 V.S. 1086	Cutch	Not identified
Navasara	PO. I. ii. 51	Kumāra- pāla V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	Nausar, Jodhpur State
<i>Nāyakā -grāma</i> in <i>Varddhi -</i> pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsaladeva V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Perhaps <i>Naita</i> , 6 miles north of Patan.
<i>Nīlachī-grāma</i> in <i>Varddhi</i> -pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1295	Do	Nilki
Omkurāla -grāma in Cālīsā-pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1283	Do	Not identified
Orāsā -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1287	S. Rajputanta	a Oria, Mt. Abu
Pālhaṇa -pura	IA. 41. 21	Sāraṅga- deva V.S. 1348	N. Gujarat	Palanpur
Pallaḍikā in Gohaṇasara in Ghūsaḍī -grāma.	IA. VI. 205-6	Bhīma II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	Not identified. Must be in or near Viramgam.
Palladikā in Āsāpalli	IA. VI.	Visaladeva V.S. 1317.	a Do	Not identified
Pallikā	Po. I. i. 42	Kumāra- pāla V.S. 1209.	S. Rajputana	a <i>Pālī</i>

PLACE-NAMES CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Phīlaṇī -grāma	EI. VIII. 22I	Bhīma II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Cannot be traced. Mentioned along with Del- vada, Mt. Abu.
Phīnicaḍī -grāma in Gambhutā -pathaka	IA. VI. 196-99	Jayamita- simha V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	Phechaḍī
Do in	Do	Do	Do	Do
Varddhi-pathaka				
Do	IA. VI. 201-3	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1287.	Do	Do
Phūlasara -grāma	IA. XI. 337-38	Bhīma II V.S. 1264	S. E. Kathia- wad	Phulsar on the railway line from Talaja to Mahuva.
Prasannapura -sthāna	IA, XVIII.	Bhīma 11	Cutch	Not identified.
in Kaccha -maṇḍala	109-10	Simha		
		Samvat 93		
Prajharikā -grāma in	IA. VI. 193	Bhīma 1	Do	Perhaps Pragsar,
Kachha mandala	111. 11. 195	v.s. 1086	20	Bhuj.
S'rī Puṇḍarika -giri	EI. VIII. 222	Bhīma II		Diluj.
DIII uniquitka -giii	E1. VIII. 222	V.S. 1287.		
Pūrṇṇa -pathaka in	IA. XVIII	Ajayapāla	Central	Not properly
Narmadā-taṭa	82-84	v.s. 1231	Gujarat	identified
maṇḍala	•	,	,	
Rāï -grāma in	JBBRAS.	Karņa 1.	S. Gujarat	Probably AJRAI
Talabhadrikā in	26.250	V.S. 1131		
Nāgasārikā -viṣaya.	20.250	//0/ ==5=		
S'rimān Raivataka	EI. VIII. 222	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1287.	S. Kathiawad	Mt. Girṇar.
<i>Rājapuri -grāma</i> in	IA. VI.	Tribhuvana	- N. Gujarat	<i>Rājpur</i> , 5 miles
Visaya and Dandāhi	208-10	pāla		north of Kadi.
pathaka		V.S. 1299		
Rājāsīyaṇī -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Rakhiana
Varddhi-pathaka	205-8	v.s. 1296		
Rāṇā-vāḍā -grāma in	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	DO	Rāṇāvāḍā
Vālauya-pathaka	203-4	V.S. 1288	20	(Patan Mahal).
Rāneloya -grāma in	1A. VI.	Jayamta-	Do	Rānela (?)
Varddhi-pathaka	196-9	simha	20	1.411014 (.)
· uruum-pamaka	130 J	v.s. 1280		

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Ratnapura -84	BPSI. 205		S. Rajputana	Ratanpur Jodhpur State.
Raünī -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsaladeva V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Probably Runi, 2 miles east of Patan.
Riṇasīha -vasaṇa - grāma in Varddhi- pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Do	Do	Raṇāsan (Chāṇasmā Mahal).
<i>Rīvaḍī -grāma</i> in <i>Varddhi</i> -pathaka	IA. VI. 206-8	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1296	Do	RIBDI.
Rūpā -pura in Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI.	Vīsaladeva	Do	Either Ruppur, 7 miles north of Patan, or 2 miles north of Chāṇasma.
Saḍesara -pathaka	IA. VI. 201-3	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1237	N. Gujarat	Cannot be identified.
Sahajavasaṇa -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI. 205-8	Bhīma II V.S. 1296	Do	Do
Sahasacāṇa -grāma in Kachha -maṇḍala	IA. XVIII 109-11	Bhīma II Simha Samvat 93	Cutch	Do
Sāhilavāḍā	EI. VIII. 221	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Selvada. (Selwara), 8 miles west north-west of Delvāḍā
Sākalī -grāma in Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala	1A. XVIII. 112-14	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1266	S. Kathiawad	Sankli, 3 miles south of Jetalsar.
Sāla -grāma	EJ. VIII. 222	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Sālgaon (Salgaon) 1 mile east-south-east of Delvāda.
Salakhana -pura in Varddhi-pathaka	ia. vi. 196-99	Jayamta- simha V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	Sankhalpur, 12 miles southwest of Gāmbhu.
Do	IA. VI. 203-4	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1288	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 205	Do	Do	Do ·

PLACE-NAMES CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Samaḍīyā -grāma in	IA. XVIII	Bhīma II	S. Kathiawad	Samadhiāla,
Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala	112-14	v.s. 1266		11 miles south-
C=.:==:		D1.5. **	N. Caire	east of Vanthli.
Sāmparā -grāma in Vālauya-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	Sāmpra, 12 miles north of
v инимуи-раннака	203-4	V.S. 1200		Pātan.
Sāmpāvāḍā -grāma	IA. VI.	Jayanta-	N. Gujarat	Sāmpavādā,
in Varddhi-pathaka	196 -9	simha		13 miles
		v.s. 1280		south - west of Gambhu
Do	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
	201 -3	v.s. 1287		
Samvatasara -grāma	RLARBP	Kumārapāla	Do	Cannot be
in Gambhūtā - pathaka	358	V.S. 1202		traced
Sāmdiha -grāma in	IA. VI.	Vīsalade v a	Do	Do
Varddhi -pathaka		V.S. 1212		
Saṇḍera -grāma	EI. I. 217	Karṇa 1	Do	Sander
		v.s. 1148		
Sapādalaska	BPSI. 227	Rāmadeva		
		V.S. 1352		•
Sānigavatta in	IA. XVIII	Kumāra-	Malwa	Not identified
Bhṛmgāri (64)	344	pala (?)	Central India.	
Sanamahhataha	O.C. (Poona)	v.s. 1222 Bhoja	Central	Saibhal ā
Sangamakhetaka- mandala	I. 319	V.S. 1103	Gujarat.	Saṅkheḍā
Sārasvata -maṇḍala	1. 319 IA. VI.	N.s. 1103 Mūlarāja	N. Gujarat.	
σανασσανα παριμανα	191 -3	V.S. 1043.	rv. Gujurue.	
Srī Satruñjaya-	RLARBP. 328,	Bhīma 11	Kathiawad	Satruñjaya
mahātīrtha	31, 33, 41,44	v.s. 1288		S
Satyapura -maṇḍala	EI. X.	Mūlarāja	S. Rajputana	Sānchor
	78 - 9	v.s. 1051.		
Saurāṣṭra	BPSI. 158	Kumāra-	S. Kathiawad	Sorațh
		pāla v.s. 1202	2	
Saurāṣṭraka -deśa	BPSI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
	204 -5	V.S. 1275		
Surāṣṭra	IA. X.	Jayasimha	Do	Do
	159 -60	v.s. 1196.	-	_
maṇḍala	IA. XVIII	Bhīma II	Do	Do
	102 -14	v.s. 1266		

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
S eṣadevati -grāma in Gambhūtā-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-99	Jayanta- siṁha v.s. 1280	N. Gujarat	Original <i>Dodiyā-</i> pāṭaka, but later called after the god's name.
Do	IA. VI. 194 -5	Bhīma 11 v.s. 1263.	Do .	Do
Sīhakā -grāma in	EI. XIX	Sīyaka	N. Gujarat	Sika (Idam Stata)
Mohadavāsaka -viṣaya inKheṭaka -maṇḍala		V.S. 1005	iv. Gujarat	Sika (Idar State), 8 miles south- south-west of Modasa.
Sihara -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1287	S. Gujarat	Ser, 8 miles north- east of Delvada.
Simhapura	BPSI. 227	Rāmadeva	S.F. Kathia- wad.	Sihor
Sindhu	IA. X.	Jayasinha	Sindh	
	159 -60	V.S. 1196		
Sīrasāvi -grāma in	IA. VI.	Tribhuvana-	N. Gujarat	SARSAO
Vişaya and	208-10	pāla v.s.	,	
Daṇḍāhī -pathaka		1299		
Sīvalīyā -vahaņi in	IA. XVIII	Bhīma 11	Kathiawad	Not traced.
Surāṣṭra maṇḍala	112-124	v.s. 1266		
Soṣaḍī-nadī in	IA. XVIII.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
Surāṣṭra maṇḍala	112-14	v.s. 1266		
Somanāthadeva -	IA. XI. 242.	Arjunadeva	Do	Somanath-pāṭan
nagara	242.	,		1.
Srī Someśvara -	PO. 1. 38	Kumāra-	Do	Do
pattana	-	pāla		
Somanāthadeva - pattana	IA. XI. p. 242	Arjunadeva	Do	Do
Stambhanaka -pura in	RLARBP. 328	Bhīma 11	Central	Khambhāt
Gurjara-maṇḍala	31, 33, 41, 44	v.s. 1288	Gujarat	(Cambay).
Srī Stambha-tīrtha	BPSI. 227	Rāmadeva	Do	Do
	·	V.S. 1352.		-
Srī Sthalaka on prāci-Sarasvatī	IA. VI. 191-3	<i>Mūlarāja</i> V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	Sidhpur
Suhāsaḍā -grāma in	IA. VI. 210-12	Vīsalade v a	Do	Cannot be
Varddhi -pathaka		V.S. 1317	-	traced.
Sũnaka -grãma	EI. I. 317	Karṇa I	Do	Sunak, 12 miles . east-south-east of Patan

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INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENC	E PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
<i>Sūṇaka -grāma</i> <i>Sūrayaja -grāma</i> in Varddhi -pathaka	EI. II. 33 IA.VI. 201-2	v.s. 1356 Bhīma 11 v.s. 1287	Do N. Gujarat	Do Suraj
Talabhadrikā - 26 (36?)-pathaka in Nāgasārikā -viṣaya in Lāṭa-Deśa	JBBRAS. 26.250	•	S. Gujarat	Not traced.
Tāladhvaja	1A. XV. 360	Mehera v.s. 1386	Kathiawad	Talaja (?)
Talājhā	IA. XI. 338	Mehara Jaga malla under <i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1264	- Do	Do
Talāra	BPSI. 158	Kumārapāla V.S. 1202	Do	Talodra (?)
Taņukoṭṭa	PO. II. i. 51	Kumāra- pāla v.s. 1218	S. Rajputana	Tanot (Jaisal- mer State).
Timvāṇaka	RLARBP. 253	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1292	Kathiawad	<i>Timāṇā</i> (near Talaja)
Do	IA. XI. 337-38	Mehara King Jaga- malla under <i>Bhima</i> 11 V.S. 1264	Do	Do (41)
Toraņa -grāma in Talabhadrikā - 36 pathaka Nāgasarikā -viṣaya Lāta - Deśa.	JBBRAS. 26 26.250	Karṇa I Saka 996	S. Gujarat	Torangam
Tribha -grāma	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	Tarabh
Trihați -grāma	IA. VI. 205-6	Bhīma II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	Tret
Laghu-Ubhadā -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI. 206-8	Bhīma II V.S. 1296	Do	Ubhada (Nānā)
Ubhaloḍa-pathaka in Godrahaka-mahā- maṇḍala	1A. X. 159-60	Jayasimha V.S. 1196	Central Gujarat	Abhold, 6 miles south of Dohad

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENC	E PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Umjhā -grāma	PO. I. iv. 40	Ajayapāla V.S. 1231	N. Gujarat	Unjhā
Do. in Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhipathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla V.S. 1299	Do	Do
S'rīmat Ujjayanīta tīrtha	rlarbp 356	Kumārapāla V.S. 1215	Kathiawad	Mt. Girnar.
Do—Ujjayamta mahātīrtha	Ibid. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44.	Bhīma II v.s. 1288	Do	Do
Uli -grāma or Puli- grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhipathaka	IA. XI. 71-3	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1256	N. Gujarat	Probably Piludra.
Umarathā -grāma in Bhṛṇṇgāri-64-pathaka	ia. xviii. 347-8	Ajayapāla V.S. 1229	Malwa C. India.	Not identified.
Univaraņī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	<i>Bhīma</i> V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Umarni, 7 miles south-south-west of Delvada.
<i>Umdirā -grāma</i> in <i>Vālauya</i> -pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	Udrā or Undrā
Unitaūyā -grāma in Viṣaya and Daṇḍahī pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	Tribhuvana- pāla v.s. 1299	Do	Utwa
Ūtaracha -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	Bhīma II v.s. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Utraj, 5½ miles north east of Delvada.
<i>Vaḍasara -grāma</i> in <i>Cālīsā</i> -pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1283	N. Gujarat	Probably Vadsar (Kalol Mahal).
Vahicara in Gam- bhūtā-pathaka	1A. VI. 196-99	Jayamta- simha	Do	Becharaji, 13 miles southwest of Gambhu.
Vahiḍāu -grāma in S'rī Bhāïllasvāmi Mahādvāda\$aka-(12) maṇḍala.	1A. XVIII. 347-8	Ajayapāla V.S. 1299	Malwa C. India	Not identified.
Maṇṇaaa. Vahaṇi-grāma(?) in Surāṣṭra-mandala	IA. XVIII. I I 2-14	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 v.s. 1266	S. Kathiawad	Do.
Valaïja	BPSI. 158	V.S. 1200 Kumārapāla V.S. 1202	Do	Balej
Vālauya-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	Bhīma 11 v.s. 1288	N. Gujarat	Baluwa (?) 6 miles north of Patan.

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INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENC	E PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Vālhī-grāma	PO. I. ii. 46	Kumārapāla v.s. 1216	S. Rajputana	Bali.
Srī Vāmana-pura	HIG.III.97	Sāraṅga- deva v.s. 1346	S. Kathiawad	Vanthli.
S rī Vām ana-sthalī	BPSI: 158	Kumārapāla V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	Vanthli.
Do in Surāṣṭra-	IA. XVIII	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
maṇḍ ala	112-4	v.s. 1266		
Varaḍi -grāma in	IA. XVIII.	Bhīma 11	Do	Wadal(?).
Surāṣṭra maṇḍala	110-14	v.s. 1266		
Varddhi-vişaya in	IA. VI.	Mūlarāja	N. Gujarat	Vadhiar or Vadhi
Sārasvata maṇḍala	191-3	v.s. 1043		
Do	JBBRAS Extra	Bhīma 1	Do	Do
	No. 49.	v.s. 1086		
Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI.	Jayamta-	Do	Do
	198-9	sim h a		
		v.s. 1280		
Do	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
	205-6	v.s. 1295		
		Bhīma 11		
		v.s. 1296		
Do	IA. VI.	Bhīma 11	Do	Do
	201-3	v.s. 1287		
Varaņaka -grāma in	EI. X.	Mũlarãja	S. Rajputana	Not properly
Satyapura-maṇḍala	78-9	V.S. 1051		identified.
Vārāṇasī	BPSI	Kumārapāla	U. P.	Benaras.
	186	V.S. 1225		
Varaņā-vāḍā-grāma	EI. XXI.	<i>Bhīma</i> 1	N. Gujarat	Varanavāḍā
in Dhāṇada-āhāra-	171-2	V.S. 1120		(Palanpur).
pathaka	•			6 miles south of
				Dhanda.
Vara-asavali-grāma	Do	Do	Do	Cannot be traced.
in Dhāṇada-āhāra-				
pathaka				
Varuṇa-śarmakiya-	Bharatiya-	Cāmuṇḍa	Do	Vadasama
padra	vidya 1. i. 80	v.s. 1033		(Warsama).
Vekariyā -grāma in	IA. XVIII.	Bhīma II	Cutch	Verra(?)
Kaccha-mandala	109-10	Simha		(Mandvi,
, .	-	Samvat 93.		Cutch).

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFI- CATION
Vilahuja	(Poona) I. 319	Bhoja (Paramāra) V.S. 1103	Central Gujarat	Velpur(?)
Visanaaveli -grāma	BPSI. 158	Kumarapāla V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	Visanvel (Wisanvel) I mile east of Chorwad.
Vişaya-pathaka	IA. XI. 208-11	Tribhuvana- pāla v.s. 1299	N. Gujarat	Not identified.
Vodha-grāma in Satyapura- maṇḍala	ei. x. 78-9	<i>Mūlarāja</i> 1 v.s. 1051	S. Rajputana	Bodan(?)

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

n. w. $=$ Wife.		LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Kathiawad, Po. 2.229.	Kathiawad, IA. xi. 243.	IA. 41. 21 IA. XI. 24I	Kathiawad, Po. 1.4.39. Mt. Abu, El. viii. 221.	-do- Ibid. 220
s == Son.				va,			
ather.		TIME		Arjunadeva,	v.s. 1320 v.s. 1348 v.s. 1348	Kumarapala Bhima II,	-op-
-law. f = Father.	he first time.	RESIDENCE	a	Hurmuja		Gaḍāhaḍa	Umvarņī- Kisarüalī
din-law = Daughter-in-law.	they occur for t	CASTE	Srī Mālakula	Khojā		Prāgvāṭa	-op-
din-lav	ull when	RELI- GION	Jain	Muslim		Jain	-op-
d=Daughter.	ve been explained in f	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Minister	$Nar{a}khu(dar{a})$	Sā. (Sādhu) Bhadra, Pārikha?	S're. (S'reșthin) and Goșthī (Go)	
ABBREVIATIONS:-	Other abbreviated words have been explained in full when they occur for the first time.	PERSONAL NAME	1. Āvibāda, s. of Mantrī Udaya	2. Abūbrāhima, f. of Noradīna Pīroja	 Ābhā Srī Abhayasiha Abhīravīra 	6. Ilha, s. ofDelhana	7. Älhana, s. of Māṇibhadra

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	-do- Ibid. 221.	-do- Ibid. 220	вр. 51. 174.	IA. vi. 193.	IA. xi. 338.	-op-	S. Rajputana, BPSI. 172.		Mt. Abu, II. viii. 220.	Mt. Abu Ibid. 221.	Mt. Abu, El. viii. 221.	-do- Ibid. 219-20.
TIME	-op-	-op-	Bhīma 11, v.s. 1276	Bhima I,	Bhima II,	v.s. 1204 -do-	Kumārapāla, S	V.S. 1209	Bhīma II, N		Bhīma 11, N.S. 1287	
RESIDENCE	Sāhilavāḍā	Kāṣahrada		Navaņīsaka (Cutch)			Ruler of	Kirāṭakūpa (Kirādu)	Kāsahrda	Sāhilavāļā	Hamiļāüdra	Candrāvatī
CASTE	Oïsavāla	Prāgvāṭa		Brāhmaṇa					Prāgvāța	Oïsavāla	S"rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa
RELI- GION	-op-	-op-							Jain	Jain		
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	S're. and Go.	S're. and Go.		Bhaṭṭāraka	Go.	Sau (Sculptor?)	Mahārāja		S're. and Go	S're. and Go.	Sre.	j hakkura (j ha)
PERSONAL NAME	8. Alhaṇa, s. of Delhana	9. Ā <i>lhā</i> , s. of Gosala	10. Alhanadevī. w. of Pūrṇa-siniha	11. Ājapāla, s. of Mangala- šiva ācārya	12. Ālaḍa, s. of Gogā	13. Alaḍa	4. S'ri Alanadeva		15. Āmvā, s. of Kolā	16. Ámvadeva, s. of Nãgadeva	17. Āmvuya, s. of Jasarā	18. S'ri İmvasiha, s. of Maha. śrī. Dharaṇiga
			H	H	-	Ι	_		H	-		

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PERSONAL NAMES 19. Amata, m. to Sajjanī, of Sumerana and Siz	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI- GION	CASTE Nāgara	RESIDENCE Guñjā	TIME Visaladeva,	LOCALITY REFERENCE Kodinar, 1A. xi. 102.
ot Somesvara and Sitā 20. Āmiga, f. of Punada	Mahājani		Brāhmaṇa of Kāpiṣṭha Gotra Prāgvāṭa		v.s. 1328 Bhíma 11,	Mt. Abu, El viii. 220.
Ānā Ānā, g. f. of Srī Jagamalla	Soluņķi Rāņaka Vr (Vrhatpuruṣa) Mehararāiā		Mehara		v.s. 1287 Bhīma 11,	IA. xi. 338
Ānā. f. of Lūņapasāka	Solunki Rāṇaka		(wer r)		v.s. 1264 Jayavanitasiinha,	IA. vi. 197
	-op-				v.s. 1280 Bhīma II,	IA. vi. 20I.
25. S'rī Anupamadevī, w. of Tejahpāla		Jain	Prāgvāṭa	Candrāvatī		Mt. Abu, Eı. viii.
	Bhāryā, mahavie.	Jain	Prāgvāṭa	Pattana	V.S. 1287 V.S. 1290	219-20. -do- Ibid. 226.
	Soni			Anahilapura		-do- Ibid. 219-20.
29. Arasīha, s. of Vīradeva	Mahājani and Go.	Jain	Prāgvāṭa	Brahmāṇa	v.s. 1348 Bhīma 11,	IA. 41.21. EI. viii. 220.
30. Asacandra, s. of Dhaiiliga	Jñātīya and Go.	Jain	Dharkkata	Univaraņī- Kisaraili	v.s. 1287 -do-	Ibid. 220.

AND		Kathia-	P. 253				_											ی		
LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 220.	Siyal Bet. Kathia-	wad. RLARBP. 253	IA. 41.21	IA. xi. 72.		EI. viii. 220		IA. vi. 198.		EI. viii. 221				-op	op		EI. viii. 221		Ibid. 219
TIME	op	v.s. 1315		v.s. 1348	Bhīma II, v.s.	1256	Bhima II,	v.s. 1287	Jayavanitasiniha,	V.S. 1280	Bhima 11,	v.s. 1287	-do-		do	op		Bhima II,	v.s. 1287	- op
RESIDENCE	Dhaiiligrāma						Univaraņī-	Kisaraülī					Hamdāüdra-	grāma	Sāhilavāḍā	Hanidāiidra-	grāma	Havvdāüdra-	grāma	Aņahilapāṭaka
RELI- CASTE GION	Oïsavāla	Prāgvāța			Brāhmaṇa	Rāyaka- vāla Hīātī	Prāgvāta		Kāla Jāti		Prāgvāta		S r i m $ar{a}$ la		Oisavāla	Srimāla		Prāgvāta		opop
RELI- GION	Jain						Jain				Jain		Jain		Jain	Jain		Jain		- op-
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Sre. and Go.		Ę	Sre	Jyoti (<i>ṣa</i>)		S're. and Go.		Maham, and Writer		S're		Sre. and Go.		-op-	op		Sre		Ţha.
PERSONAL NAME I		S'n Asaeva		33. Asaanara	Asadhara, s. of Sodhala		35. Jsadhara, s. of Rāsala	1	36. S'ri .4 śāditya	;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;	37. Asala, s. of Asadhara	,	op		Isala, s. of Kālhaṇa	40. Asala, f. of Jagadeva	, () () ()	41. Asāla, t. of Sādā	1	42. Srī Asarāja, s. of Ţha. Srī Soma
P	31.	35.	ç	33	34.		35.		36.		37.	,	38		36.	40.		4I.		45.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 221.	—do— Ibid. 220.	Ibid. 221. 1A. vi. 202.	JBBRAS. Extra. 49. Girnar, RLARBP. 332.	IA. 41.21. Mt. Abu, el. viii. 227.	Cambay, BPSI. 227. Veraval, 1A. xi. 243.
TIME	-op-	-op-	—do— Bhīma II, v.s. 1289	Bhima II, v.s. 1086 Bhima II, v.s. 1288	v.s. 1293	v.s. 1352 v.s. 1320
RESIDENCE	Haṇḍāṇdra-	grama Mundasthala Brahmāṇa	Gaḍāhaḍa		0.000	Stantonativinas
CASTE	S'rimāla	Prāgvāṭa Oïsavāla	Prāgvāṭa	Udīca Brāhmaņa Brāhmaņa	Prāgvāja Modb.	vanisa vanisa
RELI- GION	-op-	op	do		Jain	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Sre. and Go.	—do— Maha.	—do— I hakkura and Mahāsandhivigrahaka	Sculptor	Sā. (Sādhu) Rājapāla	Brhatpuruṣa J hakkura.
PERSONAL NAME	43. $As\overline{u}$, s. of Lakhamaṇa	44. Asvesara, s. of Sohiya 45. Ivodhana, f. of Jagasiha	46. Ānivūva, f. of Vohadi 47. Srī Bahudeva	48. Balabhadra, s. of Vasvdeva 49. Bukulasvāmi, f. of Purusottama and g.s. of Somadeva	 Shadasiha Bhābhā, s. of Maham. Srī Pūnapāla and Pūnadevī Bhīmada, s. of Vīkala 	

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	1A. xi. 72.	EI. XXI. 172.	HIG. III. 200.	EI. viii. 220-I.	-do- 221.	-do- 22c.	HIG. iii. 20C. Kathiawad,	IA. xi. 338.	EI. viii. 219-200	IA. vi. 194.	IA. XVIII. IIO.
TIME	Bhīma 11, v.s. 1256	Bhima 1, v.s. 1120	Kumārāpāla , v.s. 1202	Bhīma 11, v.s. 1287	-op-	-do-	Kumārapāla, v.s. 1202	Bhīma II, v.s. 1264		Bhīma 11, v.s. 1086	Bhīma Siniha. s. 93
RESIDENCE				Dhaiiligr ām a	Gadāhada						
CASTE			Brāhmaṇa(?)	Prāgvāṭa	-op-	-op-	Brāhmaṇa(?)		Prāgvāta- jītātīya		
RELI- GION				Jain	-op-	-op-					
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	j hakkura and Mahā- sanidhivigrahika, Dūtaka	Mahāsanidhivigrahaka and Dūtaka	Agriculturist and Zamindar	S're. and $Go.$	-op-		Agriculturist and Zamindar.	Mahāmātya and Rāņaķa	Ţha.	Mahāsandhivigrahaka and Dūtaka	-op-
PERSONAL NAME	54. S'rī Bhīmāka	55. Srī Bhogāditya	56. Bhojadeva	57. Bholā, s. of Sājana	Brahmasaranu, s. of Desala	Brahmadeva, f. of Rālhā		61. S'rī Cāciga-deva	Srī Caṇḍapa	63. S'rī Caṇḍaśarmā	-op-
	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	90.	61.	62.	63.	64.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	EI. i. 31.	IA. xi. 338.	IA. 41. 21. Udavapur (Gwalior)		IA. XVIII. 343. 44. PO. II. 230.	8+6 1 15	21. 1. 310.	IA. xi. 338.	-op-	-op-	IA. xi. 243.	IA. xi, 338.
TIME		v.s. 1264	v.s. 1348 Kumāra-	pāla,	v.s. 1222 Arjunadeva	v.s. 1320 <i>Karna</i> 1.	v.s. 1148	Bhima II,	v.s. 1264 -do-	-op-	Arjunadeva,	v.s. 1320 Bhīma II, v.s. 1264
RESIDENCE												
CASTE	Prāgvāṭa				S'rīmāla		î	Brahmana		Mehera		Brāhmaṇa
REL I- GION												
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION		Farmer and Member of the Pañcakula	Sā(dhu) Ţha.		Mantri	Mahāsanidhi-	vigrahaka		Koli—Kaulika (weaver?)		Rājakula, Brhat.	Tha. and $Go.$
PERSONAL NAME	65. Srī Caṇdasiṅha, f. of Dharaṇiga	66. Caṇḍapa, f. of Sobhārka	67. Cangadeva 68. Srī Cāhaḍa		69. <i>Cāhaḍa</i> , s. of Udaya	70. S'rī Cāhila	71. Gāhuta, f. of Thakkura	Chājha	72. Cāīya, s. of Īsarā	73. Caüṇdarā, f. of Srī Jagamalla	Srī Chāda, s. of Nānāsīha	75. Chājha, s. of Cāhuṭa
ı	65.	. 66.	67. 68.		.69	70.	71.		72.	73.	74.	75.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ujjain, C.I., IA. 42.258.	Bhadresvar, ASWI. II.	IA Xi. 338.	IA. 41.21.	IA. XVIII. 109-110.	Siyal Bet. Kathiawad	M* Ab	171c. (AUL) E1. VIII. 221.	-op-	-op-	Ibid. 220.	-op-	Ibid. 221.	-op-
TIME	Jayasiniha, v.s. 1195	-op-	<i>Bhīma</i> 11, v.s. 1264	v.s. 1348		V.S. 1300	Dhima II	V.S. 1287	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-
RESIDENCE					Cutch		Hand Tinken	nanniguntt	Sāhilavāḍā	Gadāhada	Umvaraņī- kisaraiilī	Kāšahrada	Gaḍāhaḍa	Haṇḍāṇdra
CASTE	Nāgara (Brāhmaṇa)	•	Brāhmaṇa		Brāhmaṇa Vətsəqotra	Pallī-jati	Chairm?	D I (Mate	Oïsavāla	Prāgvāta	-op-	-op-	-op-	S'rīmāla
RELI- GION							Lois	Jam	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Mahāmātya(?) and Mahattama	Mahāmātya	<i>Tha.</i> and <i>Goṣṭhika</i>	Sā.		Ţha.	0, 0 ond C.	Die: and Go.	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-	-op-
PERSONAL NAME	76. S'rī Dādāka, s. of Mahādeva	77. S'ri Dāraïka	3. <i>Dāhaḍa</i> , s. of Sahadeva	79. Dāmara	o. <i>Dāmodara</i> , s. of Govinda	81. Dedā, m. to Kodūdeni	82 Deda f of Vicala	mas I of the same	83. Delhā, f. of Alhāṇa	84. Delhaņa, of Ālhā	85. Delhana, f. of Khimvasiha	i. Delhuya, s. of	87. Desala, f. of Brahmasaranu	88. Devadhara, s of Gunacandra
	7	77	7	7,	ŏ	81	Š	5	∞,	8	8	86	87	88

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	-op-	IA. 41. 21.	-do- EI. x. 78	El. viii, 220-21	ы. х. 78.	HIG. iii. 101.	EI. Viii. 220.	EI. VIII. 221.	El. viii. 228.	IA. 41. 21. Mt. Abu. EI. viii. 221.	Cambay, BPSI. 227.
TIME	-op-	v.s. 1348	Bhīma 1.	Bhima II. V.S. 1287		Sāraṅgadeva,	V.S. 1346 (?) Bhīma 11,	v.s. 1287 -do-	v.s. 1293	v.s. 1348 Bhīma II,	v.S. 1352
RESIDENCE	Dhaillí		From Kānya- kubia (Kanoi)	Dhailli			Brahmāṇa	Hamdāüdra		Sāhilavāḍā	
CASTE	Oïsavāla		Brāhmaṇa	Prāgvāṭa		Brāhmaṇa	$ar{U}$ esavāla	S'rīmāla	Prāgvāta	Oisavāla	
RELI- GION				Jain			Jain	-op-	qo-	Jain	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	-qo-	Sre. Sre.		Sre. and $Go.$			Maha.	Sre. and Go.	Bāï	Sā. Src. and Go.	m
PERSONAL NAME	89. Devakuniyāra, f. of Āsadeva	90. Devala 91. Devasiha	92. Srī Dirghācārya, s. of Srī Durlahhacarya	93. Dūrgasaraņa, f. of Sāhaņīya	94. Sri Durlabhācārya, f. of Dīrghācārya	95. S'rī Dhariidha	96. Dhānidhā, f. of Sāgara	97. Dhaṇadeva, s. of Srī Sumiga	98. Dhanadevi, sister of Tejahpāla	99. Dhanapati 100. <i>Dhanapāla</i> , s. of <i>Maha-gharā</i>	101. Dhanasi itha, in. of Ratana

LOCALITY REFERENCE	HIG. iii. 101. IA. vi. 212.	EI. I. 287.	IA. 41. 21. IA. XVIII. 114.	BPSI. 174. FI. viii. 219-20.	IA. xi. 337.	el. viii. 220. Imp. Ins. 73.	EI. viii. 221.	Mt. Abu, BPSI. 174. EI. viii. 212.
TIME	Sārangadeva, v.s.1346 Vīsaladeva, v.s. 1217	Sāraṅgadeva, V.S. 1343	v.s. 1348 <i>Bhima</i> 11, v.s. 1266	Bhima	Bhīma 11, v.s. 1264.	Bhima II, v.s. 1287 Mūlarāja II, v.s. 1232	Bhīma 11, V.S. 1287	Vīradhavala
RESIDENCE						Univarņī- Kisaraulī	Phīlaņī	Canidrāvatī
CASTE	Brāhmaṇa	š	Brāhmaņa Prāgvāța	Prāgvāta	-op-	Dharkkata Brāhmaṇa(?)	S'rīmāla	Prāgvāța
RELI- GION						Jain	Jain	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	‡ha (kkura) Mahāsanidhreigrahaka, Dūtaka	Composer of Inscription	Purohita Sre.	Ţha.	Rāii. and Go.		Go.	Mudi
PERSONAL NAME	102. Sridhara, s. of Srī Dhamdha 103. Sri Sridhara	104. Dharanidhara, s. of Dhanidha	105. Dharanidhara 106. Dharaniga	107. Dharaṇiga, s. of Gaṅgā or Gāgā	108. Dharaniyă	109. Dhailliga, f. of Asacandra 110. Dhūhaḍa, f. of Prabhākara	111. Gājaņa	112. Gaigā (or Gāgā)

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. Xi. 103.	IA. xviii.114.	IA. 41.21. BPSI. 174.	BPSI. 227. S. Rajputana, BPSI. 172.	EI. ii. 29.	Et. viii. 220. Ibid. 221. IA. vi. 212.	IA. XVJII. 109. —110.	IA. xi. 102.
TIME		Bhīma II,	v.s. 1200 v.s. 1348 v.s. 1276	v.s. 1276. Kumāra-	<i>pāla</i> ,V.S. 1209 V.S. 1299	v.s. 1287 -do- <i>Visaladeva</i> , v.s. 1317	<i>Bhīma</i> II, Simha 93	
RESIDENCE						Kāsahrada Sāhilavāļā	Sahasacāna, Kacchamaņḍala	
CASTE	Nāgara		Bhanasāli (?)			Prāgvāṭa Oisavāla	Brāhmaņa (Vatsa-	gotra) Nāgara Brāhmaṇa (?)
RELI- GION					Jain	-op-		
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION		S're.	<i>Bhaṇa</i> Inscriber	Inscriber		S're. S're. Mahaksapatalika	Manam; Writer.	,
PERSONAL NAME	113. Gangādhara, s. of Nānāka and Lakṣmī	114. Gāngadeva, s. of Kuḍa.	115. Gānidhī116. Gajadhara Kānhaḍa, f.of Kadabā	117. Gajapati 118. <i>Gajāil</i> a	119. Gauradevī, m. of Vālāka	Gosala, f. of <i>Ālhā</i> Gosala, f. of <i>Vahaḍā</i> . <i>S'rī</i> Govinda	123. Govinda, s. of Dāmodara	124. Govinda, s. of Amata and Sajjani
	113.	114.	115.	117.	119.	120. 121. 122.	123.	124.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	HIG. III. 101.	EI. VIII. 222.	-do- 221.	IA. 41. 21. -do-	BPSI. 227.	Kumārapāla Kathiawad, Po. 1.4.39.	1A. xviii. 113.	IA. 41. 21.	EI. VIII. 22I. -do-	IA. 41. 21.	EI. viii. 220.	IBID, 22I.	IA. XI. 338.
TIME	Sāraṅgadeva, v.s. 1346	v.s. 1287	-op-	v.s. 1348		Kumārapāla	Bhīma II, v.s. 1266	v.s. 1348	v.s. 1287 -do-	v.s. 1348	v.s. 1287	-op-	v.s. 1264
RESIDENCE	Anandapura		Muṇḍasthala- mahātīrtha		Stambhatīrtha	Governor (?) of Someśvara-	•		Haṇḍāṅdra		Kāsahrada	Haṇḍāṇdra	Timvānaka
CASTE	Kapistala-	Gugalī Brāhmaṇa	Prāgvāṭa		Modha-	355000	Gur. ma- hājana		S'rīmāla 32	-011-	Prāgvāṭa	Srīmā la	
RELI- GION			Jain						Jain	-00-	Jain	-op-	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION			Sre. Pālhā (suffix) and Go.	Sā.	Sre.			Purā.	S're. and Go.	-do- Sā(dhu)	S re. and Go .	-op-	Mehara- <i>rāja</i>
PERSONAL NAME	125. Govinda		127. Gunacanidra, s. of Sandhīrama		Guṇarāja Guṇma, s. of Vīkala	131. S'rī Gümadeva, s. of Kakkaka		Harisarnıma	Hariyā, f. of Hemā.	Hemā, s. ot Harīva Hemā	Jagā, s. of Jasavīra	Jagadeva, s. of Asala	Jagamalla
	125.	126.	127.	128.	129. 130.	131.	132.	133.	134.	135.	137.	138.	139.

I 140.	PERSONAL NAME fagasiha, s. of Sri Lilā	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI- GION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
141. 142. 143.		Mahā(jani) S re. and Go.	-do-	rragvața Oisavăla S'rimāla Modhavani-	Camdravatī Brahmāṇa Haṇḍāiidra Stambhatīrtha	v.s. 1287 -do- -do- v.s. 1352	EI. viii. 220. -do- -do- BPSI. 227.
143a 144. 145.	a Jalhana Jālhana Jālhana-devī, sister of Srī Tejaḥpāla	Ţha. Sā (dhu) Bāï	Jain	Modha Prāgvāṭa	Pattana	v.s. 1297 v.s. 1348 v.s. 1293	EI. viii. 229. IA. 41. 21. Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 227.
	147. Jānaka			Modha	Varaņavāļā	v.s. 1276 Bhīma I,	BPSI. 174. EI. XXI. 172.
148. 149.	148. Jasadeva, f. of <i>Vāhaḍa</i> 149. Jasodhara	$S^r r e$, and $G o$. Engraver	Jain	Brahmaṇa Oïsavāla	Sāhilavāļā	v.s. 1120 v.s. 1287. Kumārapāla,	EI. viii. 221. Kiradu, PO. 1.2. 51
	150. Jasadūya, f. of Jegaņa 151. Jašahada, f. of Sāvadeva	Sive. and Go . Sū (tradhāra) (artisan)	Jain	Prāgvāṭa	Dhaülī	v.s. 1216 v.s. 1287 v.s. 1215	EI. VIII. 220-1. RLARBP. 356.
152 153 154	152. Jasakara 153. Jasapāla 154. Jasapāla, s. of Lakṣmīdhara	Kuțu. Pāri.	Jain	Prāgvāļa	Gaḍāhāḍa	v.s. 1287 <i>Karņa</i> 1, v.s. 1148	EI. Viii. 221. EI. I.317. BPSI, 205.

HIG, iii. 200.	EI. viii. 220 Girnar, RLARBP. 328.	IA. 41.21. EI. viii. 221. Girnar, RIARBP. 329.	EI. viii. 221. IA. 41.21.	EI. viii. 220. -do- 221.	IA. vi. 192; EI. x. 79.	JBBRAS. Extra, 49.	BPSI. 174. Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 221. Siyal Bet, RI.ARBP. 253
Kumārapāla, v.s. 1202	V.S. 1288	V.S. 1348 V.S. 1288 V.S. 1288	V.S. 1287 V.S. 1348	v.s. 1287 -do-	Mūlarāja, v.s. 1043	v.s. 1051 Bhīma 1, v.s. 1056	Viradhavala, v.s. 1276 v.s. 1287 v.s. 1300
	Kāsahrada	Mundasthala	Haṇḍāṇdra	Univaraņī Dhaülī			<i>Hanḍāiidra</i> Sahajigapura
Brāhmaṇa?	Prāgvāta -do-	Prāgvāṭa Kāyastha	S"rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa Oïsavāla	Kāyastha	-op-	Prāgvāta Pallī
	Jain -do-	Jain	Jain	Jain Jain			Jain
Agriculturist or Zamindar	Sre. and Go.	Kanisā (rā)? Sre. and Go Dhruva	See. and Go . $S\bar{a}$ (dhu)	-do- Mahani.	Writer	-op-	Inscriber or Engraver Sre. and Go.
155. Jasaraka	156. Jasavīra, f. of Jagā 157. Jayatasiniha, s. of Vastupāla	158. Jayatā 159. Jejā, f. of Khanikhana 160. Jaitrasiniha, s. of Vājada	161. Jinadeva, f. of Jālā 162. Jhañjhā	163. Jindā, f. of Pālhaṇa 164. Jogā, s. of Salakhaṇa	165. Kānicana, s. of Jejja.	166. Kānicana, f. of · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	 167. Kadubā, s. of Gajadhara Kānhaḍa 168. Kaḍuyā, s. of Lakhamana 169. Kaḍūdevī, m. to Dedā
	Agriculturist or Brāhmaṇa? Kumārapāla, Zamindar	Agriculturist or Brāhmaṇa? Kumārapāla, Zamindar V.s. 1202, v.s. 1202, f. of Jagā Sre. and Go . Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada v.s. 1287 -dodo- v.s. 1288	Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Zamindar Jain Prāgvāta Kāsahrada v.s. 1202 Jasavīra, f. of Jagā Sre. and Go. Jain Prāgvāta Kāsahrada v.s. 1287 Jayotasiniha, s. of Kanisā (rā)? Jayota Kanishana Sre. and Go. Jain Prāgvāta Mundasthala v.s. 1288 Jejā, f. of Khanikhana Sre. and Go. Jain Prāgvāta Mundasthala v.s. 1288 Jattrasiniha, s. of Vājada Dhruva Kāvastha v.s. 1288	Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Zamindar Jasaraka Agriculturist or Jasaraka Agriculturist or Jasaraka Zamindar Sre. and Go. Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada v.s. 1282 Vastupāla Kanisā (rā)? Jain Prāgvāṭa Munḍasthala v.s. 1348 Jairasiniha, s. of Vājaḍa Dhruva Kāyastha Sre. and Go. Jain Srimāla Haṇḍāidra v.s. 1288 Jairasiniha, s. of Vājaḍa Dhruva Jain Srimāla Haṇḍāidra v.s. 1287 V.s. 1348	Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Jasaraka Agriculturist or Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada v.s. 1287 Jayatasiniha, s. of Vastupāla Jayatā Jayatā Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada v.s. 1288 V.s. 1288 V.s. 1288 Jejā, f. of Khanikhaṇa Sre. and Go Jain Prāgvāṭa Muṇdasthala v.s. 1288 Jinadeva, f. of Jālā Sre. and Go Jain Srīmāla Haṇdāidra v.s. 1287 Jhaūjhā -do Jain Prāgvāṭa Univaranī v.s. 1287 Jejā, s. of Salakhaṇa Mahani. Jain Oīsavāla Dhailē -do -do-	Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Jasaraka Szer. and Go. Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada v.s. 1287 Jayatasiniha, s. of Vastupāla Jayatā Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāisahrada v.s. 1287 Jayatasiniha, s. of Vājaḍa Dhruva Jinadeva, f. of Jālā Szer. and Go. Jain Prāgvāṭa Haṇḍāidra v.s. 1288 Jinadeva, f. of Jālā Szer. and Go. Jain Prāgvāṭa Haṇḍāidra v.s. 1288 Jinadeva, f. of Jālā Szer. and Go. Jain Prāgvāṭa Univaraṇi v.s. 1287 Jain Prāgvāṭa Univaraṇi v.s. 1287 Jain Oisavāṭa Dhailī -do- Kāincana, s. of Jejja. Writer Kāyastha Dhailī -do-	Jasaraka Agriculturist or Zamindar Zamindar Zamindar Jain Prāgvāṭa Kāsahrada V.S. 1202 Jayatasviiha, s. of Payatasviiha, s. of

RESIDENCE TIME LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	V.S. 1287	V.S. 1288 V.S. 1264	Sāhilavāḍā v.s. 1287 Stambhatīrtha v.s. 1352 (Cambay)		V.S. 1317 Bhīma 1,	v.s. 1120 <i>Kama</i> 1, v.s. 1131	Appointed at <i>Jayasninha</i> , Dohad, 1A. x. 159-60 Dadhipadra- v.s. 1196	
	ıāla	vāța	,		rina tha	tha		man Buil Caity
CASTE	$Srimar{a}la$	Prāgvāṭa	Oïsavāla Modhava śa	Kapilāvarta Brāhmana	Kāyastha	Kāyastha	-op-	
RELI- GION	Jain		Jain					
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION		Ţha(kkura) Go.	Sre. and Go.		Writer	Akṣapāṭalika and Writer	-do- Vāhinīpati and Senāpati	Sā (dhu)
PERSONAL NAME	170. <i>Kaduyarā</i> , f. of Kuladhara		s. Kālhāņa, f. of Āsala. t. Kākala, s. of Vīkala	•	176. Kekkaka, s. of Vateśvara	177. Kekā, s. of Vateśvara	178. Kekkaka, s. of Vațeśvara 179. Keśava	180. Kesava 181. <i>Khalā</i> , m. of <i>Bāṭadā</i>
	170	171.	173.	.6/1	176	177	178.	180 1 81

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	el. viii. 221. el. ii. 33.	IA. 41.21.	Keradu, BPSI. 172.	BPSI. 227	EI. viii. 220.	-op-	BPSL 184.	IA. Xİ. 24I.	IA. 41. 21.
TIME	v.s. 1287 v.s. 1356	v.s. 1348	Kumārapāla, v.s. 1209	v.s. 1352	v.s. 1287	-qo-	Kumārapāla,	Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320.	v.s. 1348
RESIDENCE	Muṇḍasthala In charge of	Sиңакавтата		Stambhatīrtha	Univaraņī-	kısarlamı Canidrāvatī			
CASTE	Prāgvāṭa	Bhana-	(san)	Modha-	vamsa, Prāgvāta	-op-			
RELI- GION	Jain				Jain	-op-			
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	S re. and G_{o} Mahāvāṇa	Sā.	Tha (kkura) Mahārājaputra, sāndhivigrahika, vriter		Sre. and $Go.$		Engraver	Shop-keeper (Hattavanika)	Sā(dhu)
PERSONAL NAME	182. <i>Khānikhaṇa</i> , s. of <i>Ĵejā</i> 183. <i>Srī</i> Khetala (?)	184. Khelā	185. Khelāditya	186. Khimada, s. of Vikala	187. <i>Khīmvasīha</i> , s. of Dehlana	188. Srī Khimvasīha, s. of Dharaniga and Tihuṇadevī.	189. Kikaka, s. of Fladitva	190. Kilhana-deva, s. of Chhaila Soilhala	191. Kunidā

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. XVIII. 113.	ń	El. ii. 26. Mt. Abu, El. viii. 219	Uniha, Po. 1.4.40.	RLARBP. 329. IA. 41. 21. Imp. Ins. 73.	IA. X. 103.	EI. viii. 220.	-do- -do- 226.	-do- 221.
TIME	Bhima 11,	v.s. 1266	V.S. 1295	Ajayapāla	v.s. 1348 Mularaja 11, v.s. 1232.		v.s. 1287	-op-	v.s. 1287 -do-
RESIDENCE	٠						Kāsahrada		Haṇḍāṅdra -do-
CASTE			Prāgvāṭa		Moḍha		Oisa(uesa)- Kāsahrada	S'rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa S'rīmāla
RELI- GION							Jain	-op-	Jain -do-
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Sre.		Daṇḍa (nāyaka) and	<i>Rāja</i> (putra) <i>Sūtradhāra</i> and	Engraver Sā(dhu) Ţha(kkura) Mahākṣapaṭalika	(winer) Composer, known as Bāla-Sarasvatī	S're. and $Go.$	>	S're. and Go. -do-
PERSONAL NAME	192. Kuḍā, f. of Gāṅgadeva	193. Kumarabhada, s. of Srī Sobada	194. Kumārdevī, w. of Āsarāja 195. Kumārasingha, s. of	Ballāla 196. Kumārsiniha, s. of Vāhaḍa	197. Kumrapāla 198. Kumara, s. of Țha. Vaijala	199. Kṛṣṇa, s. of Ratna	200. <i>Kolā</i> , f. of .1 <i>mvā</i>	201. Kuladhara, s. of Kailuyarā 202. Srī Lakhamā-devī, d. in-law of Srī Tejaḥpāla	203. Lakhamaṇa, f. of Kaḍuyā 204. Lakhamaṇa, f. of Āsū

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	-do- IA. xi. 103.	Mt. Abu, IA. xi. 220.	BPSI. 205.	HIG. III. 200.	Girnar, RLARBP. 328.	HIG. III. 200.	Ibid. 101.	BPSI. 174, EI. Viii. 212.	1A. vi. 195.	BPSI. 174. EI. Viii. 219-20.
TIME	-op-	Bhima II, v.s. 1265.	'n	Kumārāpala, V.S. 1202.	V.S. 1288	Kumārapāla, V.S. 1202	Sārangadeva, V.S. 1346	v.s. 1276 & 1287	Bhīma 11. v.s. 1263	v.s. 1276 v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE	Sāhilavāļā							Canidrāvatī		Camdrāvatī
CASTE	Oisavāla			Kāyastha (?)	Prāgvāṭa	Brāhmaṇa		Prāgvāṭa		Prāgvāṭa
RELI- GION	-op-							Jain		Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	-op-	Composer	Pari.	Mahāmātya (?)	Jha. Mahani	Agriculturist or Zamindar				Maham.
PERSONAL NAME PI	205. <i>Lākhņa</i> , s. of Vohitha 206. <i>Lakṣmī</i> , w. of Nānākabhūti	207. Lakșmīdhara	208. Laksmidhara, f. of I ha. Jasapāla	209. Laksmas. of Srī Vidyā- rāma	210. Lalitā-devī, d. of Ţha. Kānhaḍa and Ṭha. Rāņu	211. Lāsada	212. Lāvaņyaśarmā	213. <i>Lāvanyasiniha</i> , s. of <i>Tejaḥpala</i> and Anupamādevī	\$ 8	<i>Lilukā</i> , w. of Malladeva S'rī <i>Lilā</i> , d. of S'rī Gāgā
	205.	207.	208.	209.	210.	211.	212.	213.	214.	215. 216.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	1A. xviii. 347.	IA. vi. 197.	IA. vi. 208-10.	7. O. C. C. T. C.	EI. VIII. 219-20.	Ibid.		IA. xi. 243.	el. i. 20.	IA. 41. 21.	IA. xviii. 113.	JBBRAS. 26. 250 .
LOCALITY A REFERENCE	IA.			ă.	e E	11		IA.	EI.	IA.	IA.	JBBI
TIME	Ajavapāla,	v.s. 1229 Jayavantasiniha	v.s. 1280 Tribhuvanapāla,	v.s. 1299	v.s. 1287	v.s. 1287		Arjunadeva,		V. S. 1311 V.S. 1348	Bhima II,	Karņa I
RESIDENCE	Udayapura				Canidrāvatī	Aṇahilapura			Built the fort	<i>v anayesa</i> at Dabhoi		
RELI- CASTE GION					Prāgvāṭa	-op-					Nāgara	٠
RELI- GION					Jain	-op-						
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Daņia (nāyaka)	Solu., Rāṇaka	Rāṇaka	Rāṇaka	Mahani	Mahani		<i>Ţha</i> (kkura)	Sūtradhāra	Sre.	$Dar{u}({ t taka})$	
PERSONAL NAME	217. S'rī Luṇapasāka	218. Lūnapasāka, s. of Ānā	219. Sri Lūuņapasāja	Srī Lūnapasāja-deva	Srī Lūņasīha, s. of Srī Līlā	\$ \$	Anupamadevi	223. Lūņasīhadhara, s. of Sohaņa	224. Madana, s. of Vāmadeva		Madhava, s. of Parāśara	227. Madhusūdana, g.f. of Paṇḍita Mahidhara and f. of Rudrāditya
]	217.	218.	219.	220.	221.	222.		223.	224.	225.	226.	227.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. XVIII. 114.	IA. 41. 21.	El. ii. 28. HI i 217			IA. 41. 21. PO. II. 231.	1A. xviii. 113. 1A. 41.203.	Siyal Bet, RLARBP. 253. BPSI. 174; EI. viii. 228.
TIME	Bhima II,	v.s. 1200 v.s. 1348	V.S. 1282 Karna I.	v.s. 1148. Kumārapāla,	v.s. 1216 v.s. 1287	V.S. 1348 V.S. 1320		v.s. 1300 v.s. 1276, 1293
RESIDENCE					Sāhilavāļā		Surāṣṭramaṇḍala	
CASTE	Brālmaṇa		"Geḍiā"		Oïsavala	S'rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa Kāyastha of Gauḍa-	anvaya Prāgvāṭa
RELI- GION					Jain			Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	(Witness)	Mahāsāndhi, Mahāmātya	Rāiitta Į hakkura	Mahāmātya	S're. and Go.	Sā(dhu ?)	Maham. Paṇḍita, writer	Pārī. Bāī
PERSONAL NAME	228. Madhusūdana, f. of Somaravi	S'rī Madhusūdana	Meghā Mahādeva	232. S'rī Mahādeva	233. Mahagharā, f. of Dhanapāla	· ·	Cāhaḍa 236. Mahīpāla, s. of Vālaharā Maham. 237. Mahīpāla Paṇḍita, writer	Mahipāla Mākū (or Māu), sister of Tejahpāla
_	228.	229.	230. 231.	232.	233.	234. 235.	236. 237.	238. 239.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	EI. Vİİİ. 219.	BPSI. 174.	Veraval, 1A. xi. 241.	IA. xi. 103.	IA. xi. 243. EI. viii. 220.	Ahmadabad, EI. v. 103.	IA. 41.21. Mt. Abu, Et. viii. 227. Et. i. 270	IA. 41,21. IA. xv. 360. IA. 41.21. EI. viii. 220.
TIME	v.s. 1287	v.s. 1276 Vīsaladeva,	V.S. 1318 Arjunadeva,	v.s. 1320 v.s. 1328	Arjunadeva, v. s. 1320	Visaladeva,	v.s. 1308 v.s. 1348 v. s. 1293 Sāraigadeva,	v.s. 1343 v.s. 1386 -do- v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE	Anahilapura		at Anahilapura		Umvaraņī-kisa- raülī	:		Sāhilavā,iā
CASTE	-op-			Nāgara	Prāgvāṭa		Prāgvāṭa	Oisavāla
RELI- GIGN	-op-				Muslim		Jain	Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Maham.	Saciva Rā, Upadraṣṭā	Rāṇaka, Mahā- mātya		Māsapāthaka Sre. and Go.		Sā (dhu) Bāī	Puro(hita) $S\vec{a}(dhu)$ $S're.$ and $G\jmath$.
PERSONAL NAME	Sri Malladeva, s. of $ ilde{A}$ sarāja		243. S'ri Maladeva		Mālima Modina Mānibhadra, f. of Ālhaņa	247. Masāhaņī (Pethaḍa)	Mayadhara Māü, sister of <i>Tejaḥpāla</i> Mehara Mehera <i>Thepaka</i>	Moṣā(khā)ditya Murā Nāgadeva, f. of Amva- deva
PE	240.	24I. 242.	243.	244.	245. 246.	247.	248. 249. 250. 251.	252. 253. 254.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	HIG. III. 200•	IA. 41.21.	IA. 41.21.	IA. vi. 210.	:	IA. XVIII. II3.		IA. 41.21.	EI. i. 279.		1A. xi. 103.			PO. I.2.5I.		HIG. III. 101.		EI. VIII. 220.	Veraval,	IA. xi. 241.	BPSI. 174.
TIME	Kumārapāla,	V.S. 1202	v.s. 1348	Visaladeva,	V.S. 1317	Bhima II,	V.3. 1200	v.s. 1348	Sāraigadeva,	v.s. 1343	v.s. 1328			Kumārapāla,	V.S. 1218	Sāraṅgadeva,	v.s. 1346(?)	v.s. 1287	Arjunadeva,	V.S. 1320	v.s. 1276
RESIDENCE																		$Univaranar{\imath}$			
CASTE	Brāhmaṇa (?)										$Nar{a}gar\imath$	(Brāhmaṇa)				Brāhmaņa		Dharkkata			Prāgvāṭa
RELI- GION																		Jain	Muslim		Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Agriculturist or	Zamındar	S're.	Mahāmātya				$Sar{a}(dhu)$	Engraver (sculptor)					"Composer of"	Inscription			S're.			
PERSONAL NAME	255. Nāgaila		Nāgaḍa	257. Srī Nāgada		258. Nāgārjuna (Kavīrāja)		Nāgapāla	Nāhaḍa, f. of	Pūrnasiha	Nānāka-bhūti, m. to	Laksmī, s. of	COVIDUA AIIU Sunaca	262. Narasiniha		263. Nārāyaņa		264. Nehā, f. of Sālhā	Noradīna Pīroja		266. Padamalā-devī, sister of Tejaḥpāla
PE	255.		256.	257.	d	258.		259.	260.		261.			262.		263.		264.	265.		266.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Mt. Abu, El. viii. 227do- 221. Girnar, RLARBP. 358. Dabhoi, El. i. 32.	IA. 41. 21. EI. viii. 221. EI. i. 300. Mt. Abu, IA. xi. 220.	EI. viii. 220dodo- Shiyal Bet, Kathiawad	EI. VIII. 220. IA. XVIII. II.2-14. EI. VIII. 220.
TIME	v.s. 1293 v.s. 1287 v.s. 1305 Visaladeva, v.s. 1311	V.S. 1348 V.S. 1287 Kumārāpāla Bhīma 11, V.S. 1265	Bhima 11, V.S. 1287 -do- V.S. 1343	V.S. 1328 V.S. 1287 V.S. 1287
RESIDENCE	Ga!āhaļa S'rī Pattana	Gaḍāhaḍa	Univaranī- Kisaraülī Kāsahrada	Brahmāṇa Univaraṇī
RELI- CASTE GION	-do- -do- S″rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa	Prāgvāta Oïsavāla Prāgvāta and Guriara	Prāgvāṭa Nāgara Jñātī Dharkkaṭa
RELI- GION	-op-	Jain	Jain -do-	Jain Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	S're. and Go. Mahani Sculptor, Chief of Sătradhăra Safdhu)	Sre. and Go. 'Poet Laureate' Sūtradhāra, Engraver	Sre. and Go.	"Written & engraved by" Mahā. Dū.
PERSONAL NAME	267. Padmalā, -do- 268. Padmasīha, s. of Vālā 269. Padmasīmha, s. of Ţha Vāhada 270. Padmasimha, s. of Sajjana 271. Padmasīha	272. Pāhuya, f. of Jinadeva 273. Srīpāla 274. Pālhana	-do- s. of Jindā -do- s. of Sohi -do- s. of Ţha. Pethaḍa	Pālļ -c Par Māi Pāsc
PI	267. 268. 269. 270.	272. 273. 274.	275. 276. 277.	278. P 279. 280. P 281. P

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI- GION	RELI- CASTE GION	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
Pāsacandra, f. of Pūnacandra	Sre.	-op-	Oïsa(uesa) vāla	Kāsahrada	-op-	Mt. Abu, el. viii. 220.
Pāsadeva, s. of Vīsala	Mahā (jani)& Go.	-op-	S"rīmāla	Brahmāna	-op-	Ibid.
Pāsila, f. of Pūnuya		-op-	Prāgvāta	Dhaiili	-op-	Ibid.
Pāsavīra, s. of Sājaņa	S're. and Go.	-do-	Prāgvāta	-op-	-op-	Ibid.
Pethada, s. of Pūrna- sīniha and Alhaņadevī					v.s. 1276	BPSI. 174.
Pethada	Masāhaņī				V.S. 1308	Ahmedabad, El. v.103.
Pethada, f. of Pālhaņa	j'ha.		Prāgvāta		v.s. 1343	RLARBP. 254.
			and a Gurjara			
289. Pethaila	Member of the				v.s. 1348	IA. 4I. 2I.
	Pañcakula				5	•
Srī Purāntaka	Sthānapati of S'rī				Arjunadeva,	Vevaval, IA. XI. 241.
	Navaghanadevīya				v.s. 1320	
Pūnā, s. of Vohadi	S're. and Go.	Jain	Prāgvāta	Dhaülī	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
Punā, f. of Sāhalā	-op-	-op-	S'rīmāla		op-	Ibid.
Pūnacanidra, s. of	-op-	-op-	Prāgvāta	Kāsahrada	-op-	-op-
Pāsacavidra						
295. <i>Pūnadeva</i> , f. of Vosari	-op-	-op-	-op-	Gaḍāhaḍa	-op-	Ibid. 221.
296. Punada, s. of Amiga	Mahājani	Jain	Prāgvāṭa	Brahmāṇa	v.s. 1287	Ibid. 220.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 227.	Ibid.	Imp. Ins. 73.	HIG. III. 200.	Dabhoi, El. i. 20.	IA. 41. 203.	PO. II. 227.	Kodinar, IA. xi. 102.	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.
TIME	v.s. 1293	-do	Mūlarāja II V.S. 1232	Kumārapāla,	v.s. 1202 Visaladeva,	V.S. 1311		V.S. 1328	V.S. 1288
RESIDENCE									
CASTE	-op-	-op-	Brāhmaņa Sāmavedī Lāņţhišiva-	gotra	Brāhmaṇa	(Dvija ?) Poritya- vodaņa-	anvaya Srimāla- bula	Nāgara	
RELI- GION	-op-	-op-							
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Mahani	Mahani	" Sayyāgrāhaka of Karpūradevī"	Mahāsāndhi-	oigranaea Writer	Mahāmaṇḍalika			
PERSONAL NAME	297. Srī Pūnapāla, m. to Mahani Srī Pūnadevī	298. Pūnadevī, m. to. Maham. Pūnabāla	299. Prabhākara, s. of Dhūha!la	300. S'rī Prabhākara	301. Prahlādana	302. Srī Pratāpasiniha, s. of Srī Vatsarāja	303. Pṛthimadevī, w. of Padmasiniha	304. Purusottama, s. of Govinda and Suhavā	305. Purușottama, s. of Bakulasvāmī, g.s. of Somadeva
Ы	297.	298.	299.	300.	301.	302.	303.	304.	305.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Veraval, IA. xi. 24 ^I . IA. xi. 33 ⁸ .	EI. i. 279. EI. viii. 220-1.	Ibid. Ratanpur, BPSI. 205	BPSI. 172. BPSI. 174.	EI. I. 279.	Ibid. н.б. 111. 200.	Mt. Abu, EI. viii.220-I
TIME	Arjunadeva, v.s. 1320 Bhīma 11, v.s. 1264	Sāraigadeva Bhīma 11,	v.s. 128/ -do-	Kumārapāla, v.s. 1209	Sāraṅgadeva,	V. 3. 1345 -do- Kumārapāla,	v.s. 1202 v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE		Dhaiilī	Sāhilavāḍa Naḍulapura	S rī Nadrāla- pura			Dhaiili
CASTE		Prāgvāṭa	Oisavāla Prāgvāta-	-op-		Brāhmaṇa (?)	Prāgvāṭa
RELI- GION		Jain	-do- S'rāvaka				Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	<i>J'ha.</i> and <i>Bṛhat- puruṣa Pāri</i> and Writer	Gø.	Sre and Go .		Mantrī Writer	Engraver (silpi) Agriculturist or	Sre. and Go.
PERSONAL NAME	306. S'rī Pulugideva 307. Pūnapāka	308. Puṇasiha, s. of Nāhaḍa 309. Pūnuya, s. of Pāsila	310. Pūniga, f. of Vāghā 311. Putiga, s. of Sankara	312. Putiga, s. of Subhankara 313. Pūrnasiniha, s. of Malladeva and	314. Parņasīmha, f. of Vikrama	315. Pūrņasīha 316. Rājadeva	317. Rājuya, f. of Sāvadeva

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 222.	Ibid. 220. Ibid. 221.	Veraval, IA. xi. 241.	RLARBP. 254. El. Viii. 219-20.	Girnar, RLARBP. 359.	-do- Ibid. 328.	Mt. Abu, EI, viii. 220.	Ibid.	Cambay, BPSI. 227.
TIME	-op-	-op-	73,	v.s. 1311 v.s. 1272. v.s. 1287	v.s. 1222 G	V.S. 1288	v.s. 1287	-op-	V.S. 1352 C
RESIDENCE	Bhālibhāṣļā	Kāsahrada Brahmāņa		Tinibānaka Canidrāvatī			Uni $varani$	Canidrāvatī	Cambay
CASTE	Pratīhāra- vanisa	Prāgvāta -do-		Prāgvāṭa	S'rīmāla	Prāgvāṭa	-op-	- op-	
RELI- GION		Jain -do-		Jain			Jain	-op-	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	"one of the persons responsible for protecting the temple of Neminatha"	Sre. and Go. -do-	Tha and $Br. Pu.$	Mehara <i>Rāja</i> Maham.		Ţha.	Src. and Go.	Ţħa.	
PERSONAL NAME	318. "Rājaputra"	319. Rālhā, s. of Brahmadeva 320. Rāmacandra, s. of Dhanacandra	321. Srī Rāmadeva	Srī Raņasiniha Srī Rāņiga, s. of Srī Gāgā	324. Srī Rāņiga, f. of Srī Ānibāka	Rānū, m. of Srī Lalitādevī	Rāsala, f. of Asadhara	327. Ratnasiiiha, s. of Srī Līlā	328. Ratana, sister of Vikala, m. to <i>Dhanasiniha</i>
PE	318.	319. 320.	321.	322. 323.	324.	325.	326.	327.	328.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. 41. 21. IA. xviii. 113.	Siyal Bet, RLARBP. 253.	Mt. Abu, El. Vill. 204-7	VII, AIOCR. 547.		Ibid. 226.	IA. xi. 337.	Ibid. 242.	JBBRAS. 26. 250.	BPSI. 184.	B1. viii. 220.
TIME	v.s. 1348 <i>Bhi madeva</i> 11, v.s. 1266	V.S. 1300	v.s. 1287	Bhima II, v.s. 1263		v.s. 1290	v.s. 1264	Arjunadeva, v.s. 1320	Karņa 1	Valabhī samvat	v. s. 1287
RESIDENCE		: :	Deülavādā etc.	Navali (Nauli, Udaipur)	T.			Ruling at Hurmuja			Univarņī- Kisaraülī
CASTE		i i	Rāthīya	Brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇātriya-	gotra Rāyaka- vāla-jñāti			Muslim	Brāhmaṇa Māṇḍavya gotra)	Dharkkata
RELI- GION											Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	S're. Mahāmātya	Pāri.	,	One of the people responsible for	protection of Ne- minātha temple.		<i>Go.</i>	Amīra		Writer	S're. and Go.
PERSONAL NAME	329. Ratana 330. Srī Ratanapāla	331. Ratanapāla, s. of Mahīpāla	332.	333. Ravi Deva, s. of Vīhaḍa		334. Rayaṇādevī, w. of Lūṇasīha	335. Rāiila Uccadeva	336. S'rī Rūkanadīna	337. Rudrāditya, f. of Mahī and g. s. of Madhu- sūdana	338. Rudrasuri, s. of Laksmidhara	339. Sādā, s. of Pāsa

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 221. -do- 220.	-op- -op-	-do- -do- EI. i. 32.	IA. Xi. 102. IA. Xv. 360. EI. VIII. 220-I.	BPSI. 227. EI. viii. 219-20.	Ibid. 220.
TIME	-op-	-op-	-op-	Mehera <i>Țhepaka</i> v.s. 1386 v.s. 1352	v.s. 1287 v.s. 1287	-do-
RESIDENCE	Handāiidra Univoaraņī- zz	Nisarawa -do- -do- Dhaiil?	-op-	Muṇḍasthala	Canidrāvatī	Brahmāṇa
CASTE	Prāgvāṭa -do -	S'rīmāla Dharkkata Prāgvāta	-op-	Prāgvāṭa	Prāgvāļa	Oïsa(Uisa-) vāla
RELI- GION	-op-	-op-	-op-	Jain	Jain	-op-
PROFESSION OK DESIGNATION	-op-	-op-	-do- -do- <i>Sūtradhāra</i> (sculptor).	S're., Pālhā	Ţha.	Mahā
PERSONAL NAME	Sādā, s. of Āsala Sāhlā, s. of Pūnā	-do- Sālhā, s. of Nehā Sāhaṇīya, s. of Dugasaraṇa	Sājana, f. of Pāsavīra Sājana, f. of Bholā Sajjana, f. of Padma- siniha		Sādhū Sāgara, s. of S^rri Sāliga, f. of S^ri Gāgā	S
PI	340. 341.	342. 343. 344.	345. 346. 347.	349. 349. 350.	351. 352.	353.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Siyal Bet, Kathiawad,	RLARBP. 253. Dohad, IA. x. 158.	IA. Xİ. 338.	BPSI. 174; EI. viii. 228.	EI. viii. 220-1. Ibid.	Girnar, RLARBP. 358. Ibid. 356 and PO. 2. 227.	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 228.	Ibid. 220-1. Ibid. 219-20.	RLARBP. 356.
TIME	V.S. 1300	Jayasiniha,	v.s. 1196	v.s. 1276 and	1293 V.S. 1287 V.S. 1287	V.S. 1305 Visaladeva, V.S. 1320	V.S. 1293	v.s. 1287 -do-	V.S. 1205
RESIDENÇE		at Ubhaloda-	pathaka in charge of تمامتن		Dhaillí Kāsahrada	Governor of Saurāṣṭra and	then of <i>Lafa</i>	Dhaülī Canidrāvatī	
RELI- CASTE GION	$Pall\bar{\imath}$		Pratī (hara)	Prāgvāṭa	Oïsavāla -do-	S'rimāla- kula	Prāgvāṭa	-op-	
RELI- GION				Jain	-op-		Jain	-op-	
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Ţha.	Rāṇaka			Mahani. Src. and Go.	Mahāmātya		S're. and Go. J'ha.	Sū(tradhāra) śilpi
PERSONAL NAME	365. Sankara, m. to Lakșmi	Sankarasīha	367. Sākhaļā	368. <i>Sākū</i> , sister of <i>Tejaḥpāla</i>		$\propto \sim \sigma$	$Sr\bar{i}$ $S\bar{a}u$, sister of $Tejahp\bar{a}la$	Sāvadeva, s. of Rājuya Sri Sāvadeva, f. of S'rī S'āliga	Sāvadeva, s. of Jasahaila
PE	365.	366.	367.	368.	369. 370.	371. 372.	373.	374. 375.	376.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	EI. viii. 220.	IA. 41. 21.	Mt. Abu, et. viii. 204.	Imp. Ins. 73.	IA. 41.21.	Siyal Bet, Kathiawad,	IA. VI. 200.	ніс. ііі. 196.	IA. 41.21.	Wadhavan,	
TIME	v.s. 1287	Sārangadeva v. s. 1248	1340	Mūlarāja II, v s. 1222	Sārangadeva,	v.s. 1340 v.s. 1315	Bhima II,	Jayasiniha, V.S. 1184	Sāraṅgadeva, V.S. 1348	v.s. 1350	Kumārapāla, V.S.1202
RESIDENCE	Univaraņī										
RELI- CASTE GION	Prāgvāṭa					Prāgvāṭa	Kāyastha			Nāgara	
RELI- GION	Jain					Jain					
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	S're. and Go.	Puro(hita)	Ѕан дћ аvī	Tha. and Mahā-	Sā (dhu)	S're.	Tha. and	Arsupajunku Writer and Mahāmālva	S're.	Mahani.	Agriculturist or Zamindar
PERSONAL NAME	377. Sāvaļa, f. of	Š	379. Saravaņa, f. of Savi. Sivirharāja	Srīmat Sīkara	381. Samarā	382. Srī Sāpala, s. of	\sim	Š	385. Sāḍhala	386. Srī Sāḍhala	387. Sāthāka
PI	377.	378.	379.	380.	381.	382.	383.	384.	385.	386.	387.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	EI. VIII. 229.	IA. xi. 337. IA. xi. 337. EI. viii. 221. EI. x. 79.	I^. xi. 102.	IA. xviii. II3.	El. v. 103.	BPSI. 174.	EI. 2.24.	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 220.	Ibid. 229.	Ibid. 221.
TIME	v.s. 1297	v.s. 1264 v.s. 1287 Mūlarāja,	V.S. 1051	Bhīma II,	V.S. 1266 Vīsaladeva,	V.S. 1308	v.S. 1295	v.s. 1287	v.s. 1293	v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE		Sāhilavāļā		of Vāmana-	stnaii					Mundasthala
CASTE	Moḍha	Brāhmaṇa (?) Oisavāla	Nāgara					Oisa	Prāgvāta	-op-
RELI- GION		Jain						Jain	-op-	-op-
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Ţ hakurājñi	$Go.$ $S^{\prime}re.$ and $Go.$ Mahattama and $D ilde{u}ta.$		Mahani	Bāï		S're.	S're. and Go.	Bāï	S're. and Go.
PERSONAL NAME	388. Santoṣā, m. of Ṣrī Suhaḍā	Saviusariya Silātri, s. of Vālaņa Silaņa, f. of Delhaņa S rī Sivarāja	393. Sītā, w. of Somes- vara	Srī Sobhanadeva	395. Soḍhaladevī	396. Sohagā, s. of Tejaḥpāla	Sohada, f. of Kumarabhada	398. Sohi, f. of <i>Pālhaṇa</i>	399. Sohagāyā, s. of Teiahbāla	400. Sohiya, f. of Asvesara
PE	388.	389. 390. 391. 392.	393.	394.	395.	396.	397.	398.	399.	400.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.	Ibid. 361; El. viii.225.	IA. xi. 338. IA. Xviii. 344.	IA. XVIII. II3.	El. 1.31.	EI. viii. 219-22.	IA. xi. 241.	RLARBP. 329. Kodinar, IA. xi. 102.	IA. Vi. 202.
TIME	v.s. 1288	v.s. 1288-89	v.s. 1264	Bhīma II,	Visaladeva,	v.s. 1311 Bhīma II, v s. 1287	Arjunadeva,	v.s. 1288 Vīsaladeva,	v.s. 1328 Bhīma 11, v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE			0.					Guñjagrāma	a
RELI- CASTE GION	-op-	-op-	of <i>Muhilaü?</i> family		Brāhmaṇa			Brāhmaṇa Nāgara,	Kapitha gotra Kāyastha
RELI- GION	-op-	-op-							
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Mahani.	Mahani.	Go. Rāja (putra)	Meha (ra)	"Composer"	Mahāmaņdalešvara Rājakula.	Rāṇaka and Br. Pu.	<i>J.ha</i> and Purohita <i>Mantrī</i>	<i>Ţha</i> and <i>Mahākṣa-</i> paṭalika
PERSONAL NAME	401. Sokhukā, w. of Vastupāla and d. of Tha. Kānhaḍa and Tha. Rānu.		Solā, s. of Chāḍa S'rī Solanadeva, s. of Vilhanadeva.	•	406. Somešvara	407. S'rī Somasinihadeva	408. S'rī Somešvaradeva	-do- Someśvara, m. to Sitā	411. S'rī Somasiniha, s. of of Sātikumāra
PE	401.	402.	403. 404.	405.	406.	407.	408.	409. 410.	411.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	Ibid. 20 4. Ibid. 209 .	IA. xi. 102. E1. viii. 220.	. Ibid. 219.	Cambay BPSI. 227. Girnar, RLARBP. 331.		IA. XVIII. 114.	-op-	IA. XVIII. 344.	VII. ATOCO 647	EI. VIII. 229.
TIME	v.s. 1288 v.s. 1299	Bhīma II,	v.s. 1287 Bhīma 11	v.S. 1352 v.S. 1288		Bhīma II,	-op-	Ajayapāla,	V.S. 1229 Bhima 11.	v.s. 1297
RESIDENCE		Kisaraüli-	Omvaraņi Anahilapura				In charge of	Srı Suraștra- maņdala		٠
CASTE	-op-	Dharkkata	Prāgvāta			Brāhmaṇa			Brāhmana	Rāyakavāla Modha
RELI- GION		Jain	-op-							Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	-op-	S're. and $Go.$	Ţha	<i>Tha</i> , Writer Engraver (silpi)		Witness to a land grant	Mahā. and Prati.	Mahāmātya		Maham.
PERSONAL NAME	-do- -do- Suhana w of Ganinda	Soma, s. of Vahudeva	416. S'ri Soma s. of Ț'ha. Srī Caṇḍa	Soma Somadeva, f. of Bakula- svāmī and g.f. of	Purusottama	419. Somaravi, s. of Madhusūdana	S'rī Somarājadeva	421. S'rī Someśvara	422. Someśvara	423. Srī Suhaḍā, 2nd w. of Srī Tejaḥpāla
PE	412.	415.	416.	417. 418.		419.	420.	421.	422.	423.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. xviii. 112-14 IA. vi. 205.	1A. xi . 338. EI. v. 103.	EI. viii. 221. HIG. III. 200	VII AIOCR. 648.	IA. 41. 21. -40-	EI. viii. 219-20. BPSI. 174.	EI. VIII. 219-20.	Ibid. 221. 1A. xv. 360. BPSI. 174.
TIME	v.s. 1297 Bhīma,	v.s. 1295 v.s. 1264 Visaladeva,	V.S. 1287 Kumārapāla, V.S. 1202	Bhīma 11 V.S. 1263	Sarangadeva, V. S. 1348 do	v.s. 1287 v.s. 1276	V.S. 1287	v.s. 1287 v.s. 1386 v.s. 1276
RESIDENCE			Haṇḍāùdra			Anahilapura	Canhdrāvatī	Haṇḍāṇdra
RELI- CASTE GION			S'rīmāla Brāhmaņa			Prāgvāta -do-	-op-	S'rīmāla
RELI- GION			Jain			Jain -do-	-op-	Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Jyotișa Mahārāņī	Vya (Merchant?) Go. Sūtradhara	S're. and Go. Agriculturist or Zamindar	Mahāsandhivigrahika Dūtaka Dūsī	I ugi Tha.	Tha. Maham	Ţha.	S're. and Go. Mehera (king)
PERSONAL NAME	424. Sumacanda 425. S'ri Sumaladevī	426. Sūmesīra, s. of Ācā. 427. Sūmaņa	428. Sumiga, f. of <i>Dhandeva</i> 429. <i>Sūradeva</i>	430. Srī Tha. Suraja	Tej $ec{a}$			Thiradeva, f. of Viruya Thepaka Tribhuvana-devi, w. of Dharaniga.
PE	424. 425.	426.	428. 429.	430.	432.	433. 434.	435.	436. 437. 438.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	EI. I. 271.		IA. xi. 338. PO. II. 230.	EI. Viii. 221.	Ibid. 219-20.	Ibid. 226.	Ibid. 221. RLARBP. 329.	EI. Viii. 221. -do- -do- RLARBP. 358.	PO. II. 229. EI. viii. 221. Ibid. 220.
TIME	Sāraigadeva, v.s. 1343	-do- v.s. 1348	V.S. 1264 Arjunadeva,	v.s. 1320 v.s. 1287	-op-	V.S. 1290	V.S. 1287 V.S. 1288	v.s. 1287 -do- -do- v.s. 1305	v.s. 1287 -do-
RESIDENCE				Brāhmaṇa	Canidrāvatī		·Sāhilavāļlā	Dhailli Sāhilavāḍā -do- Pattana	Sāhilavāļā Univaraņī
RELI- CASTE GION			S rīmāla-kula	Prāgvāṭa	-op-	-op-	Oïsavāla	Prāgvāta Oisavāla -do- Srīmāla Srimāla-bula	Oïsavāla Dharkkata
RELI- GION				Jain	-op-	-op-	-op-	Jain -do- -do-	-op-
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Appointed a Mahattara Sē(Ah)	Sa(unu) Rāiila	Mantrī	Mahā (jani) and Go.	Ţha.		Sre. and Go. Sūtradhāra and Engraver	Sre. and Go. -dodo- $ \downarrow ha. $ Mantri	S're. and Go. -do-
PERSONAL NAME	439. Tripurāntaka	441. Uccadeva		443. Udayapāla, s. of Pālhana	444. Sri Udala, s. of S'rī Dharaniga	445. Uragadevī, d. of ßrī Lūṇasīha		448. Vohadi, f. of Pūnā 449. Vāhada, s. of Jasadeva 450. Vāhada, s. of Gosala 451. Vāhada 452. Vāhada, s. of Udaya	453. Vahudā 454. Vahudeva, f. of Soma

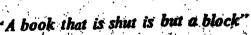
LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	1A. vi. 204.	RLARBP. 328.	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.	EI. viii. 220.	ы. і. 293.	Ibid. 221.	1A. XVIII. 113.	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.	IA. xi. 337.	EI. ii. 29, Roha N. Guj.	Palanpur, El. II. 28.	BPSI. 174.	EI. Viii. 221.
TIME	<i>Bhīma</i> 11 , v.s. 1288	V.S. 1288	V.S. 1288	v.s. 1287	Kumārapāla, v.s. 1208			V.S. 1288		v.s. 1299	v.s. 1282	V.S. 1296	v.s. 1287
RESIDENCE			Stanibhapura	Kāsahrada	Brahmāņa			Stambhapura (?)	Timvānaka		ta		
CASTE		Kāyastha	-op-	Uesavāla		Prāgvāļa	-op-	Kāysatha			Gediā Rāiitta		Srīmāla
RELI- GION				Jain						Jain			Jain
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Ţha. and Mahāsandhi- vigrahika, Dūtaka	Dhruva, Writer	Writer	Sre.	Paṇdita, Writer	Sre.	Mahani	Writer	Sre. (Mahājana)				
PERSONAL NAME	455. Śrī Vahudeva	456. Vājada, f. of Jaitra- siniha	Vājada, s. of Anaka	458. Vālaņa, s. of Salakhaņa	459. Vālana	460. Vālā, f. of Padma- sīha	461. Vālaharā, f. of Mahipāla	$V\bar{a}$	Valahala	Vālāka, s. of Gaura- devī	465. Vanarā(ja), s. of Meghā	466. Vanadevī s. of Tejahpāla	467. Vāpala Gājaņa
2	455.	456.	457.	458.	459.	460.	461.	462.	463.	464.	465.	466.	467.

LOCALITY AND REFERENCE	IA. xi. 159-60.	EI. viii. 220.	Ibid. 210.	EI. xxi. 172.	IA. vi. 194.	IA. xviii. 110.	IA. 41.203.	PO. 1.2.44.	1A. xviii, 82-4.	Imp. Ins. and HIG III. 73.
TIME	Jayasiniha. v.s. 1196	v.s. 1287	-op-	Bhīma I, v.s. 1120.	Bhīma _, 1, v.s. 1086	Sinha 93	Sāraṅgadeva	Kumārapāla, v.s. 1210	Ajayapāla, v.s. 1231	<i>Mūlarāja</i> 11, v.s. 1232
RESIDENCE	Godrahaka	Brahmāṇa	Anahilapura					Ruling at Naddulapura	Ruling <i>Narmadā</i> taṭa-maṅḍala	
CASTE		Uesavāla	Prāgvāṭa	Kāyastha		Kāyastha			Cāhuyāna- anvaya (family)	Modha
RELI- GION		Jain	-op-							
PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	Mahāmaņ!aleśe- vara	$Mahar{a}$ (jani) and Go .	Mahani.	Writer	-op-	-op-	Mahāmaņ ļalika	Daṇḍanžyaka	Mahāmaṇḍaleśe - vara	
PERSONAL NAME	468. Srī Vāpanadeva	469. Varadeva, s. of Sātā	470. Vastuplāa, s. of Āsarāia	471. Vateśvara, f. of Kekkaka	-op-	-do- s. of Kāncana	474. Srī Vatsarāja, s. of Yoga-siniha, f. of Pratānsiniha	475. Srī Vaijāka	476. Srī Vaijaladeva	477. Vaijala, f. of Tha. Srī Kumaraņa
PEF	468.	469.	470.	471.	472.	473.	4 74.	475.	476.	477.

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